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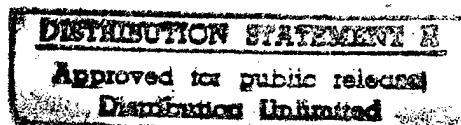
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29 June 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2159



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29 June 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2159

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BULGARIAN-ROMANIAN FIREFIGHTING EXERCISES

[Editorial Report] Bucharest PAZA CONTRA INCENDIILOR in Romanian, a monthly publication of the Firefighters Command of the Ministry of the Interior, publishes in its January 1983 issue, pages 20-21, an article by Mircea Marinescu reporting on a joint Bulgarian-Romanian activity to extinguish a "fire" at the enterprise for the construction of machines and heavy equipment in Giurgiu, Romania. The writer hails the cooperation and expeditious extinguishing of the "fire" by the fire-fighting units involved: the civilian firefighters group in the enterprise, the Giurgiu military firefighting company, the patriotic guards of the enterprise, the members of the civilian firefighting unit in the "PECO" base for the marketing of petroleum products and in the chemical combine and the intervention guard of Bulgarian firefighters from the city of Ruse. "Shoulder to shoulder, the Romanian and Bulgarian firefighters demonstrated their intelligence, courage and strength." According to the article, the following Romanians attended the exercise: Major General Gheorghe Briceag, commander of the firefighters in Romania; Major General Constantin Gutu, deputy commander of the firefighters for fire prevention; Lt Col Stefan Popovici, commander of the firefighters group in Giurgiu County; Eng Lucian Iliescu, technical director of the enterprise for the construction of machines and heavy equipment and chairman of the technical commission for preventing and extinguishing fires. On the Bulgarian side, the following attended the exercise: Lt Gen Ilia Donchev, chief of the Central Directorate for Fire Prevention in the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior; Lt Col Delcho Gagiyeu, department chief in the Central Directorate for Fire Prevention; Atanas Dinchev, chief of the fire prevention service in the city of Ruse.

CSO: 2700/232

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### CHEMICAL DECONTAMINATION TREATMENT METHODS DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR--ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 5, May 83 (signed to press 18 Mar 83)  
pp 66-69

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "Special Treatment"]

[Text] As hard as they tried, the sign kept falling in the sand. Normally, they nailed it to trees. That was impossible here: It was wasteland, just suitable for a training area. Tank country, but as unsuitable an area as can be imagined for special treatment. After all, there was no cover of any kind. A place like this would never be chosen in combat, so it should be selected during an exercise.

Similar thoughts might possibly occur while looking at the photographs, because there might eventually be military action. The question about cover can be answered quickly. Training areas are quite simply waste land; tracked vehicles are kept far away from the few trees. Does this completely nullify any proximity to combat?

The causative fact that the chemical platoon of the "Robert Uhrig" unit had developed into full special treatment was an assumed chemical attack by the "enemy." The lead company of the regiment had been caught in it when marching to the attack.

Capt Franke, senior officer in charge of chemical services for the unit, commanded and supervised the actions at this site. When he mentioned the above reason for the exercise, memories of my visit a year earlier to the Army Museum in Hanoi were awakened. There 1st Lieut Hoang Lam had conducted me from room to room. Finally we were standing in front of the diorama of the battle for Saigon. This battle ended a war which U.S. imperialism and its puppets had brutally waged against the Vietnamese people. They had not even shrunk from using chemical agents. Although no complete proof about the amount and the consequences existed, as the lieutenant emphasized, I noted the following: About 38 million liters of the agent types "agent white," "agent purple" and "agent orange" had been used over various regions of Vietnam. Dangerous 2,4-T and 2,4,5-T preparations made from trichlorophenoxyacetic acid. "Agent orange" also contains dioxin. About 500 kgs of it fell on Vietnamese territory. Even the minute amount of 0.001 milligrams of dioxin causes gastric bleeding. It is carcinogenic and causes hepatitis. As we said, the museum did not have a complete overview. Is it even necessary for the proof of the crime? Seven hundred and fifty U.S. soldiers have involuntarily confirmed in a macabre way the unscrupulous use of these agents: They had sprayed these materials, been poisoned, became ill from and are now suing their government for damages. That was 8 years ago, and today?

It is enough in this context to mention the military-strategic intentions of the current President of the United States. He is openly threatening the Soviet Union and the socialist community of states with nuclear war. That is only another variation from the arsenal of means of mass destruction.

The situation is so serious, and the question becomes so close to combat: Will the motorized infantry company, which is approaching the stop sign in its armored personnel carriers (APC) be able to rid itself of the "contamination" in which it found itself?

The company halted and entered the waiting area. Individually the vehicles drove into the distribution checkpoint. From each one, two comrades in protective suits climbed out. The vehicles were tested by personnel of the chemical platoon for the degree of contamination and guided to the pretreatment area. The "chemists" working there handed brushes to the motorized infantrymen who had climbed out and showed them how the dirt adhering to the APCs should be washed off with a jet of water. Up to two-thirds of the agent is removed with the dirt if the pretreatment is thorough. Success lies in the care with which the edges and corners of the APC are treated. The vehicles did not continue to the decontamination area until this had been performed satisfactorily. In the case of real contamination, fluids would be used that contained calcium hypochlorite solutions or aminoalcoholate compounds. This time it was water that was used on the APCs; but they did not move on to the post-treatment area until a time equivalent to one of the decontaminant solutions taking effect had passed. Again it was water, and in the event of contamination it would also be water that rinsed away the now harmless agent. But before they turned to the vehicles, the soldiers who had been detailed as helpers treated each other with decontamination fluid. The hermetically sealed APC had protected them from the agent; once they climbed out, and after coming into contact with the vehicle while working on it, they now required decontamination. After everything had been washed down, the APCs drove to the assembly area. The remainder of the crews, also still in protective suits which they had had to don before the hatches in the APC were opened the first time, left the vehicles and proceeded to the "Weapons and Equipment" area. There their small arms were given the same treatment as the APCs previously. Again dirt was removed with a jet of water, then they were decontaminated and rinsed with water afterwards. Now each soldier submitted to the same procedure.

While the APCs remained in the equipment assembly area, the motorized infantry marched to the sanitary treatment area. There they removed their protective suits and outer clothing and entered the changing tent in the vicinity of two containers, the water treatment and shower facilities. "Dressed" only in their protective masks, they went to shower; the mask was not removed until they were in the shower. The eyes and mucuous membranes in the upper respiratory passages, the most vulnerable parts of the body, must be protected until the last possible moment from the agents. For the same reason, the comrades were urged to rinse their mouths and throat areas. Genitals, parts of the body covered with hair and finger nails had to be cleaned particularly carefully, because the agents can easily lodge in these areas. In each case only a disinfectant solution is added to the water in the shower facility. That concluded this element of the exercise for the motorized infantry company.

Relieved, happy and refreshed, the comrades left the sanitary treatment. They had spent hours under the rubber skin of their protective equipment, and either sat in

the armored personnel carriers, which were out in the hot sun, or helped the "chemists." Both had costs them rivers of perspiration. The price had not been paid in vain.

Capt Franke summarized what had taken place; "By including this exercise, the soldier should be convinced that he is not helpless in the face of a chemical attack if he keeps a clear head. Then he will not become nervous when using the personal protective equipment, the decontamination agents and the equipment needed for special treatment. When things have to be done quickly, he will work quietly and calmly, learn not to breathe quickly under the protective mask and force himself to make regular movements. The comrades faced full special treatment today and behaved in a disciplined manner, although they knew that they were only washing off dust and dirt. They came very close to the consequences that they could experience in a possible military confrontation. Protective from means of mass destruction is complicated. If it is carried out with discipline and care, it protects the life of the individual and the combat strength of the unit."



Pretreatment involves spraying down with a powerful jet of water. The dirt is washed off from top to bottom, which rinses away up to two-thirds of the chemical agent that settled on the mud-covered vehicles.



The decontamination fluid must be applied evenly, stroke by stroke to the exterior skin of the APC at the decontamination site. The solutions are in the tanks. In this instance too, the principle of applying it from top to bottom must be adhered to.



The soldiers have come into contact with the agent as a result of working on the vehicle. After decontaminating the APC, they treat each other.



After the vehicles have been treated, the remainder of the crew leaves the APC, but not until it has reached the assembly area. It is absolutely essential to wear the protective suit in the fully sealed APC before the hatch is opened for the first time--this, after all, breaks the seal. Long periods of waiting in the confined vehicle, while wearing the protective equipment must not result in indifference to what is going on.



The same procedure for submachine guns and the soldiers themselves at the area for weapons and equipment.





Entering the shower container in the sanitary treatment area. The protective mask must be worn until they are under the shower, so that the most vulnerable parts of the body, such the eyes and the mucous membranes in the upper respiratory passages are absolutely safe from even the smallest amounts of chemical agent.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CLOSER TIES URGED BETWEEN WEST COMMUNISTS, 'DEMOCRATIC FORCES'

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 70, 10 May 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Wants Peace Movement to Exert Greater Pressure on Western Governments." A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin apparently desires increased pressure to be exerted by the various peace and protest movements upon Western governments so as to bring about societal changes in this manner. In its most recent issue the monthly HORIZONT (No 15, 1983), which is closely tied to the GDR foreign ministry, emphasized that some of these movements already "exert considerable pressure upon the policies of the ruling class" and that they had already become an important political factor in present class struggles in the West. The publication left no doubt that the communists are interested not only in arms limitation and disarmament, but also in changes in other areas. Bringing about an "alternative policy," HORIZONT stated, "would create greater opportunities for broadening the struggle of the working class within state-monopolized capitalism." It further maintained that considerable substantial elements of an alternative policy were being engendered in the actions of the peace movements, e.g., demands on the Western governments, "which could serve to influence a constructive configuration of their foreign policies in the national interest." At the same time, HORIZONT continues, demands which appear to concern merely foreign policy "against nuclear arms buildup and war policy" can lead also to results in the internal policy area, if they are tied to demands of an economic or social nature. The decisive prerequisite for bringing about alternative policies is said to be "the unification of all democratic movements in the imperialist countries." This would be the only way to "exert extraordinary social pressure." Also, that to bring about a "unified struggle of the organized working class" was a "perpetual task" of the communist parties.

## SED Seminar Discussion

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 16 No 15, 1983 (signed to press 3 May 83)  
pp 3-4

[Article by Dr Martin Anders and Dr Gisela Wendt: "Karl Marx and the Historic Mission of the Workers Class." This article was written as a contribution to Topic 9, "On the Present-day Significance of Lenin's Theory on Imperialism," discussed at the SED Study Year Seminary on "The Universal Intensification of the Class Antagonisms in the Imperialist Countries. The Struggle of the Workers Class and its Allies Against the Omnipotence of the Monopolies." For related information see the translation of a GDR law journal article published under the heading "West Communists Urged to Intensify Legal Political Activities," in JPRS 83359, 28 Apr 83, No 2134 of this series, pp 6-14]

[Text] There is complete confirmation in the imperialist countries of the statement by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Party Manifesto" that the capitalist society is "increasingly divided into two great armed camps, into two great classes which are in direct opposition to one another: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."<sup>1</sup> The antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie turned into the differences between the majority of the people and the monopolistic capital.

### Causes for the Exacerbation of Class Differences

The increase in social disagreement and class antagonism has its roots in the new heights to which the process of monopolization has risen in the imperialist countries. Through "the forced growth of monopolistic giants, especially the international conglomerates," stated the SED Program, "the increased identification of the state with the monopolies, have led to a considerable exacerbation of the basic contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction between the societal character of productivity and the capitalist manner of expropriating its products, as well as of all other conflicts within the capitalist society."<sup>2</sup>

The increasing internationalization of capital exacerbates the social conflicts of capitalism especially for the following reasons: In the first place, a growing portion of the proletariat is being directly exploited by the big monopolies which pursue their profit expropriation no longer within one nation, but in several and often in many countries which more or less still lie within the part of the world dominated by capitalism. While for instance General Electric in 1910 exploited 32,000 workers, this corporation has developed into an international giant for which 400,000 workers and employees in more than 50 countries create monopolistic profits and whose sales have risen from \$71 million in 1910 to \$27.2 billion in 1981. This means an increase per worker from \$2,220 in 1910 to \$67,000 in 1981. The Siemens Corporation, which until 1914 had developed into one of the leading monopolies of imperialist Germany with 85,000 employees and a share capital of RM 63 million, took a leading place in the list of the world's biggest industrial corporations and had 338,000 employees, from whom it extorted net profits of about DM 5 billion.

These examples, which are typical for the development of modern imperialism, demonstrate that with rapidly increasing monopolization the antagonism between the increasingly social character of productivity and the expropriation of its products by the financial capital of a few imperialist superpowers becomes increasingly clear.

International exploitation by monopolist capital, which the apologists for finance capital demagogically refer to as "a new step in the international sharing of labor," takes especially flagrant forms in the developing countries. The increasing competition among international corporations for the development of new sources of raw materials, factories and markets leads to the ransacking of those countries' natural resources, their sources of raw materials and fuel. The international monopolies draw as a rule far greater profits from the developing countries than the capital they invest in them. On that topic, Erich Honecker stated at the international scientific conference on "The Common Struggle of the Workers Class and the National Liberation Movement Against Imperialism and for Social Progress" (Berlin, October 1980): "Especially the politicians of the United States and the FRG...lose no opportunity to praise their so-called development aid. But they maintain a dignified silence about the increasing transfer of profits out of those countries. Nevertheless, profits of some \$50-100 billion are pumped out of them every year. That surpasses by far the amount of state and private capital which they invest in those countries."<sup>3</sup>

In view of the worldwide process of exploitation by the international monopolies we may therefore state that the basic conflict of capitalism has now entered an international dimension.

Secondly, the new level of imperialist aggression and anti-democratic feeling, which is tied to the increasing internationalization of capital, exacerbates the objective antagonism between the monopolies and all non-monopolistic forces. At present, this conflict is shown in its most extreme, and at the same clearest, expression in the deep controversy between the arms race and confrontation-seeking policy of the most reactionary and aggressive powers, which have their economic base in the arms monopolies, and the elementary interest of all non-monopolistic powers in the preservation of peace, in an end to the arms race and in bringing about detente.

#### Preservation of Peace--The Objective of Highest Priority

In view of the course of military confrontation steered by imperialism and the dangers to humanity arising therefrom, the struggle for peace has become the highest priority action item of today. Preservation of world peace is therefore not a task restricted to certain parties and groups. Today it is a matter for everyone who wishes to live in peace. This goal includes also those forces which are not looking for basic societal changes. It is the commandment of the hour which in our days concerns all political and societal forces which truly strive for peace, regardless of differing political programs, ideological positions and religious creeds; in other words, those forces which transcend class barriers and other obstacles that keep them from cooperating toward saving the peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear war. Erich Honecker

reinforced this assessment in his speech at the International Scientific Karl-Marx-Conference with the following statement: "Thus an historical opportunity arises for uniting the most diverse forces in the struggle for peace and for this struggle to expand more widely than ever before."<sup>4</sup>

The workers' class is guided by two tasks in its historic mission which are inextricably tied to one another: the struggle for liberation from the scourge of war and the social liberation of the peoples. The Central Committee's theses for the Karl-Marx-Year contain the following pertinent statements: "In our times, the preservation of world peace is more than ever before a part of the world historical mission of the workers' class, because peace is the deciding basic factor for the continued existence of humanity and the first prerequisite for the solution of all other societal problems."<sup>5</sup>

Together with all other interested democratic forces, the workers' class strives to secure and maintain peace. During the last few years a peace movement of historically new dimensions has arisen in defiance of the nuclear strategy of the United States and NATO, as well as against the burden of imperialist arms escalation, which "is extending the struggle against the imperialist danger of war in many forms, in an original manner and on a broad base."<sup>6</sup> One proof of the strength which the peace movement has gained in Western Europe were this year's Easter marches in which almost 800,000 citizens participated in the FRG alone.

DKP Chairman Herbert Mies noted the new involvement in the 1983 Easter marches by many social democrat politicians, as well as the closer ties between demands for disarmament and social services; between the fight for peace and the struggle for employment. The working peoples' increased realization that the implementation of their economic and social demands can succeed only if they are directed especially against the arms escalation course of the most aggressive forces of monopolistic capitalism, became manifest also by the wide participation of factory peace initiatives and the unions' appeals for support of the Easter marches.

#### Intensified Confrontation with the Imperialist State

The necessity for the struggle for social needs of the working class is closely tied to the participation of the trade unions in the peace movement. It is necessary in order to once and for all deflect the threat of human existence which arises from imperialist arms escalation and confrontation policy to all humanity, and therefore especially to the working class. The working class has traditionally made the greatest sacrifices in any world conflagration.

The general attack by monopolistic capitalism against the workers' social situation is not merely an attempt to push off the consequences of the present capitalist crises upon the shoulders of the working class; it is at the same time a direct result of the increase in arms escalation. Inasmuch as the attacks by the monopolist bourgeoisie are directed against all parts of the working class social conditions of existences, the class struggle develops in a variety of forms. The reason for this is primarily that

--the social base of the struggles has been extended by including new strata of workers;  
--the working class is steadily gaining in strength by raising the level of its education, skill and organization, as well as from its growing class consciousness.

One characteristic peculiarity of the present strikes, as an example, consists of the fact that they have developed into a "permanent factor of social tension in the world of capitalism" irrespective of any business cycle conditions.<sup>7</sup>

The most recent proliferation of the class struggle also proves that a qualitatively new factor is gaining greater importance: the increasing closeness between the economic and the political struggle of the working class. This finds its expression in the more politically accented demands by the workers which they increasingly direct specifically to the imperialist state in order to influence particularly its economic and social policies. That is why the unions are increasingly and more emphatically calling for a share of the decisionmaking process, especially concerning the use being made of the state-directed salary deductions. They also pursue the objective of influencing government decisions in such areas as employment, health care, training and education and housing. In the present class differences between capital and work these areas are assuming greater importance, since they are becoming increasingly important for the reproduction of the workforce.

#### The Need for Unification of All Democratic Forces

An important political factor in the present class controversies in the imperialist countries is constituted by the democratic mass movements which are steadily growing in size and strength (civil rights, women, ecology, anti-unemployment, educational deficiency, racist discrimination, etc.), which in some respects already bring strong pressure to bear on the policies of the ruling class. Thus for instance the entry of the Greens into the Bundestag is, in the opinion of the DKP, of great importance for the political development of the FRG. It provides an opportunity, they say, of representing essential demands by the extra-parliamentary opposition in the parliament. "Together with other democratic forces of the extra-parliamentary movement, we plan to support the Greens' activities in the Bundestag in a constructive manner. We will support every measure taken by the Greens, as well as those of social democratic delegates which serve the interests of peace, which hinder the deployment of missiles, and which serve the social and democratic interests of working people. At the same time, we will criticize everything that damages the cause of peace and the needs of the working people of our country."<sup>8</sup>

While combining the struggle of the organized workers' class with that of other democratic mass movements has already become a significant tendency in the imperialist countries today, it remains a constant task for workers' movement, especially for the communist parties.

## The Fight for a Democratic Alternative

There can be only one alternative in view of the intensified confrontation course and the policy of the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism and NATO, to adapt the power structures of at least some of the imperialist countries to their own aggressive course in an even greater degree, and to subordinate other imperialist countries more or less to the economic, military and political requirements of a crusade against the socialist countries. The workers' class and all forces interested in preserving the peace must therefore stop the war party of monopolist capitalism, to push it back even further and to influence developments in the leading imperialist countries in such a way that the economy and policies of state monopolist capitalism must be adapted to those requirements which arise from the necessity for peaceful coexistence between states of differing societal orders.

Everything must be done today to preserve peace; the struggle for arms limitation and arms reduction constitutes the key in this context. Based on unity of action and democratic alliances, this is tied to the defense of social and democratic rights. This connection is clearly expressed in DKP mottoes: "Jobs rather than missiles--defend yourselves!", or "Everything for peace! Defend democratic and social rights!" Bringing such policies about depends to a decisive degree upon the strength of the alliance of democratic forces and the pressure exerted by them upon the most aggressive and reactionary circles of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. Above all, it requires the elaboration of a democratic alternative to the nuclear arms buildup and war policy of the most aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism, and to make it politically effective.

Implementation of such an alternative policy would provide better opportunities for a flourishing struggle by the workers' class in the monopolistic capitalist state. The basis therefore is constituted by the common interest of the great majority of the population in the imperialist countries in a policy for the preservation of peace, a reduction in arms expenditures and in disarmament.

The actions of the peace forces generate elements of considerable weight for a democratic alternative to nuclear arms escalation and war policy.

They include demands on the governments of imperialist countries which can be influenced in the national interest toward a constructive configuration of their foreign policy. At the same time it becomes evident that demands which appear to be of a purely foreign policy character and which are directed against a policy of nuclear arms escalation and war, can lead to consequences in internal policies by being tied to demands of an economic and social policy nature.

The indispensable prerequisite for elaborating a democratic alternative is the unification of all democratic movements in the imperialist countries. Only in this way can extraordinary societal pressure be exerted by the workers' class in alliance with all other democratic forces for the purpose of changing the power structure in those countries in favor of peace and disarmament.

As Erich Honecker put it during the International Scientific Karl-Marx-Conference, today "the dangers to world peace are great, but we are convinced that it is not only necessary, but possible, to banish them...The defense of peace as humanity's greatest treasure is the highest priority, common, unifying interest."<sup>9</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party. In: Collected Works, Vol 4, p 463.
2. Programs of the SED, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1982, p 16.
3. Erich Honecker, "Our Strength Lies in the Common Cause of the Revolutionary Forces of Our Times." In: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 October 1980.
4. Erich Honecker, Opening address at the International Scientific Conference "Karl Marx and Our Times--the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," 11-16 April 1983. In: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 April 1983.
5. Theses of the SED Central Committee for the Karl-Marx-Year 1983. Dietz Verlag Berlin 1982, p 27.
6. Ibid., p 28.
7. S. Yershov. The Liability of the Capitalist System. In: MESHDUNARODNAYA SHISN 2/1982, Moscow (in Russian), pp 79-80.
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 March 1983.
9. Erich Honecker, Opening address (see 4. above).

#### ADDITIONAL READING

- Erich Honecker, Opening address at the International Scientific Conference "Karl Marx and Our Times--the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 12 April 1983.
- Political Declaration by the Member States of the Warsaw Pact, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin 7 January 1983.
- Problems of Peace and Socialism, No 3/83, pp 291, 425.
- Europe--No Euroshima! EINHEIT, Berlin, No 1/83, p 28.
- Guenter Sieber, Peace--Socialism's International Principle, EINHEIT, Berlin, No 3-4/83, p 266.



- Monopolies in the Gunsight, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1982.
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GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Gdansk Province PZPR Tasks

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 10 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Text] The conference yesterday of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk was devoted to an appraisal of the current sociopolitical and management systems in the region and to a discussion of current tasks in party work. The party aktiv and secretaries from the first degree councils and from factory committees participated in it.

The first of the problems taken up was an appraisal of the course of the PZPR reporting campaign and its effect on the party recovery of ideological and organizational unity and of efficient activity. According to information given to the group by the representative of the Politburo membership and the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, the Central Committee Politburo had made an affirmative evaluation of the campaign progress, which has contributed to an increase in the authority of the party organizations in their own spheres, and to a tightening of the bonds between the party leadership and the mass membership.

However, among the things lacking in current party work should be mentioned the continuing indifference of a certain number of PZPR members, the sometimes unsystematic and inconsistent control over the implementation of resolutions adopted by the party, the mediocre progress in the regeneration of the trade unions, worker autonomy and the establishment of PRON structures, and neglect of ideological and training activity. Comrade Bejger stated that: "Party organizations should serve more actively than in the past by forming union and autonomous organizations in factories to counteract possible attempts of the opposition to boycott new unions by means of resistance, or by using the autonomous groups as an arena of political strife." The assumptions of the national socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985 were discussed by the Voivodship Committee Secretary Leon Brancewicz. This plan is focussed around four basic goals: improvement in national nutrition, an increase in residential resources, improvement in market supplies and social protection for the lowest salaried groups in the population.

These assumptions were based on the real economic possibilities of the country with respect to external conditions. Success in achieving this plan will be dependent on maximal utilization of reserves in the area of work productivity and of thrift in the use of raw materials, fuels and energy. This is necessary if in the course of the next 3 years we intend to achieve a 13-16 percent increase in industrial production with an increase of barely 8 percent in raw materials and power consumption and with only a slight increase in employment. Plans in the food economy are to increase crop production by 8 percent and animal production by 10 percent by 1985. Investments will be held at the current level with some modification of their structure. One-third of the investment funds will be allocated for the needs of animal husbandry, and the rest will be used for investment in housing construction, energy and industry. Some 14.5 percent of the national income is intended to be allocated for social purposes. Therefore the investment policy will be directed toward satisfying basic social needs, with an unfavorable effect on industry. During the next 3 years it will be impossible to renew any more than 1,600 industrial investments. In a later part of his talk, comrade L. Brancewicz discussed the government proposals in the area of combatting inflation. According to preliminary predictions the inflationary gap at the end of this year will be some 230 billion zlotys. A basic way of eliminating so-called hot money is a systematic increase in deliveries of goods and services, which should be achieved not only by an increase in work productivity, but also by implementing additional production for market needs. The tasks of party organizations in the area of ideological activity were presented by the Voivodship Committee secretary Edward Kijek. Emphasizing the significance of PRON in realizing the idea of agreement, and in integrating all of the progressive social forces to pull the nation out of the crisis, he stated that PRON is currently exposed to two basic dangers. Underground opposition is trying to discredit the movement in the opinion of society, presenting it as a "camouflage" front for administration activity, as a kind of "transmission" of directives from above to society. The second danger is bound up with the same movement and is shown by definite units or groups using PRON, not as a plane of dialogue, but as a political battleground with the authorities or in placing the movement above these authorities.

Comrade E. Kijek also discussed the tasks associated with preparations for the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which will be devoted to ideological problems. The Voivodship Committee secretary also presented methods of dealing with the antisocialist underground, which has totally withdrawn from open political battle, is attempting to regenerate social unrest by utilizing the existing organizational structure of the trade unions, the autonomous groups and PRON, and is trying to disrupt relations between the state and the Church by discrediting for its own purposes the announced visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland this coming June.

In the final part of the conference representatives of the branches of the Voivodship Organization and Administration Committee presented special tasks for party councils or organizations in the Gdansk Voivodship region, resulting from the resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Reporting Conference.

## Workers Party Aktiv Meeting

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the working propaganda aktiv took place yesterday in the headquarters of the Wrzeszcz-Oliwa City-District Committee with the participation of the representative of the Politburo membership and the first PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger.

The secretaries of the Wrzeszcz-Oliwa PZPR KD [City-District Committee] and the first KD secretary, Piotr Rajca, participated in the meeting chaired by Helena Morawska.

The subject of the meeting was a discussion of the current tasks of party work in the PZPR City-District organization. The first Voivodship Committee KD secretary, Stanislaw Bejger, familiarized those present with the course and climate of the party reporting campaign, emphasizing the favorable atmosphere which was accompanying the campaign.

Next the speaker summarized the current sociopolitical and economic situation of the nation and the voivodship. Among other things he spoke of the need to create a real climate for the development and strengthening of the union movement in labor circles. A great deal of attention was devoted to the problems associated with implementing the economic reform. In this context he spoke on the subject of the 3-year draft plan and of the anti-inflation and thrift program developed by the government. There is a real chance, and this depends on every citizen, of a considerable reduction in the effects of the crisis through universal application of the widely planned thrift program.

The first Voivodship Committee secretary also replied to questions from participants at the meeting. Among other things they concerned problems associated with implementing the principle of social consultation, ideological training and imbalances accompanying the reform. There were also questions concerning internal party matters.

## Executive Board on Programs to 1985

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 18 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] The activity of the antisocialist forces in our country in 1980-1981, as well as of the so-called underground opposition centers, has caused particularly great distortions in the consciousness of young people. The political opponent is trying to have the greatest possible effect on the young people by shaking their attitudes toward and their faith in the basis of our system, and by seeking in these circles direct participants in the disruption of the country and of social peace. In this situation particular significance devolves on the ideological and teaching work conducted with young people in school, where the role of the teacher in properly presenting the program of teaching citizenship is particularly great.

Therefore, at yesterday's meeting of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board, the achievements of the sociopolitical curriculum in the schools of the Gdansk Voivodship were made known. More than 620 teachers (approximately 48 percent of whom are PZPR members) are teaching history, citizenship, and the basics of social studies and of political studies in elementary and higher schools. The way they shape the opinions and attitudes of the young people depends on their knowledge and on their moral, ethical and political attitudes.

Despite a great many difficulties (a lack of current manuals and auxiliary materials) which teachers of these subjects encounter, a constant connection between the knowledge imparted on the one hand and everyday reality and current problems in our country on the other assure that young people will get answers to the problems disturbing them. The Voivodship Committee Executive Board has adopted a whole series of proposals aimed at improving teaching programs, assuring teachers of materials making it possible for them to supplement their knowledge and to improve the qualifications necessary to better meet the obligations of teachers in a socialist school in a socialist country.

At a second point in yesterday's discussion, the Voivodship Committee Executive Board was informed of the course of implementation of repairs on old residential property, and on health service and educational buildings during the past year and the tasks in this area for 1983-1985. Material presented by the Voivodship Office shows that the range of needs in this field is tremendous. They are primarily the result of enormous neglect accumulating in past years, especially in the area of remodeling old health service buildings and installations, hospitals in particular. Keeping residential property in good condition is of particularly great importance in view of the limited amount of new construction and the many needs of society. At the same time the practice of past years--nonfulfillment of the repair plan, reorganization of communal enterprises, diffusion of executive forces, pursuit of easier jobs, that is, new investments and extreme modernization--has led to a definite worsening of care for residential property in the cities of the Gdansk Voivodship with a simultaneous lack of utilization of funds allocated for these purposes.

What is to be done to increase the range of repairs and to completely utilize the technological, executive and financial resources?

A fundamental conclusion formulated by the Voivodship Office is the need to concentrate all matters associated with the repair of buildings within a given municipality in one pair of hands, preferably the hands of the city manager. This entails a need to reorganize the communal economy enterprises and to subordinate them--as public utility enterprises--to the chairmen or leaders of the cities (Voivodship Office representatives said they would accomplish this process by the end of the first half of this year). The city manager will then become the holder of the executive power with which (in consideration of resources at hand) he will be able to properly adjust the repair program at an earlier time along with the conditions enabling maximal realization of tasks in this area (technical documentation, replacement apartments for occupants of repaired buildings).

Other proposals brought up during the discussion and presented to the Executive Board aim at creating favorable economic and financial conditions for communal enterprises to conduct particularly labor-intensive repairs (including health service installations), the training of new personnel in particular occupations and a guarantee of better material supplies for and more efficient performance of these same repair jobs. These proposals, and especially the matter of subordinating the enterprises to local offices, will be introduced in the decisions of individual national councils, which should take a stand on this question as rapidly as possible.

The Voivodship Committee Executive Board heavily emphasized the fact that the conditions currently existing in the repair area must not last any longer, and that all of the activities adopted should lead to the enforcement of definite improvements apparent to the people.

The next point in the discussions of the executive board referred to actions aimed at improvement in satisfying the residential needs of the people in the Gdansk Voivodship up to 1985. The Voivodship Committee Executive Board was made aware of the program of activity prepared by the Voivodship Office in this area. At the same time the executive board stated that in the Gdansk Voivodship we must construct more and more every year in order to get about 8,000 newly-built apartments each year. Maximization of efforts to increase the number of residential buildings, along with cheaper ones with a lower standard, is necessary, not only to plug the gap between growing residential needs and the possibilities of satisfying them, but also to reduce this gap.

After a final balancing of forces, resources and organizational and executive possibilities, the residential construction program up to 1985 should be presented to the people, the Executive Board stressed. Before this occurs, the Voivodship Office should thoroughly analyze all possibilities which can be used to assure the construction of the greatest possible number of apartments. The possibility of engaging the executive resources of the large Wybrzeza plants should also be considered.

At yesterday's meeting the Voivodship Committee Executive Board also confirmed the timetable for achieving the tasks stemming from the PZPR Voivodship Conference resolutions, including the directions of voivodship party council activities for the purpose of consolidating law, order, security and principles of social justice. Assumptions were also adopted for discussions which will be carried out by a few party aktiv members, and preparations for this year's celebrations on the 1 May holiday were discussed.

#### Gdansk Implementation of Economic Tasks

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] According to preliminary, and still partially estimated data, a further advance was noted in February in achieving the basic economic tasks in the Gdansk Voivodship. The dynamic indicators achieved in the socialized economy are presented as follows.

In industry the production sold in February of this year was greater (in constant prices) by 10.8 percent than in February of last year, and increased 1.3 percent in comparison to January of this year, while in comparison to the average monthly value of sales in the fourth quarter of last year, it dropped by 8.5 percent. Sales of industrial production in the January-February period of this year were 24.8 percent higher than in the same period last year.

The production sold in industry, calculated per employee, was higher in comparison to the analogous period of last year: by 13 percent in February of this year and by 27.4 percent in the January-February period of this year.

Average employment in industry in February of this year was 2 percent lower, while the average monthly net wages (including workers' compensation) per employee in industry came to 13,120 zlotys, or an increase of 25.5 percent in comparison to February 1982.

Worthy of emphasis is the increase in the production of some products in February this year in comparison to the same month last year, for example: television sets by 32.5 percent, radios by 10.7 percent, phosphorus fertilizers by 23.3 percent, washing and laundry appliances by 134.1 percent, cement by 25 percent, fiberboard by 7.1 percent, wooden furniture by 8.4 percent, knitted products by 18.5 percent, butchered animal products by 9.6 percent, maritime fishery products by 35.9 percent and footwear by 2.4 percent.

On the other hand there was a drop in the production of such products as, for example: boards by 2.7 percent, butter by 4.3 percent, consumer vegetable fats by 17.5 percent, pharmaceutical products by 3.6 percent and petroleum products by 10.2 percent.

In the construction and mounting enterprises the value of basic production (in constant prices) rose in February of this year (in comparison to February 1982) by 25.7 percent, average employment was 2.2 percent higher, and work productivity was 22.9 percent higher.

In the January-February period of this year, in comparison to the same period last year, basic production was 46.7 percent higher. The average net monthly wages (including workers' compensation), coming to 11,224 zlotys in these enterprises, rose by 18.1 percent in comparison to February last year.

In January and February this year four new residential buildings were turned over for use. Their average developmental cycle was 25.7 months, or three times longer than the standard cycle.

In this same period 206 new apartments were turned over for use, that is, 5.6 percent more than in the analogous period of 1982.

Transportation. The shipment of freight in February this year (in comparison to February last year) increased: by 1.8 percent in public and sector automotive transport; by 36 percent in inland and coastal shipping; and by 7.8 percent in maritime shipping (PLO [Polish Shipping Lines]).

The transshipment of freight in maritime commercial ports was 4.9 percent higher in February this year than a year ago.

Average employment in socialized transportation (not counting railroads and airlines) was 3.4 percent lower in February of this year than in February 1982, and the average net monthly wages (including workers' compensation) came to 14,935 zlotys, or an increase of 29.2 percent.

Sales in retail trade enterprises increased (in current prices) in February of this year (in comparison to February 1982) by 53.6 percent, and in the food-serving enterprises by 1.5 percent. Worse results were achieved in agriculture than in February last year in cattle purchasing centers, 19 percent less in comparison to the weight of meat which had been collected, and in egg purchasing centers where results dropped by 51.2 percent. The milk purchases remained at a level 16.7 percent higher than in February last year.

#### Pre-Plenum Meeting on Maritime Policy

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 25 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Text] On 7 April of this year plenary discussions of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk will be held and be devoted to the problems of forming a state maritime policy. Discussions will be concentrated on a draft document outlining the new maritime policy framework. Preparations for the plenum and problems associated with the subject of the deliberations were discussed yesterday at a meeting with journalists, held in the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee quarters. Taking part in the meeting were: the Central Committee Politburo membership representative and PZPR first secretary in Gdansk, Stanislaw Bejger, and a deputy minister, the director of the Office of Maritime Management, Adam Krzysztoporski, the Voivodship Committee secretary Andrzej Karnabal, and the Gdansk vice-governor, Stefan Milewski. Also present were representatives of the maritime economy enterprises from the Trojmiasta region.

The chairman of the Central Committee Maritime Commission, Stanislaw Bejger, described the course of commission work associated with implementing the decisions adopted at the Tenth Central Committee Plenum. The Gdansk Vice-Governor Stefan Milewski spoke about the local conditions of maritime economy development in the Gdansk Voivodship. An increase in production is anticipated in 1983-1985 in all basic sectors of the maritime economy, in the shipbuilding industry, ship repairs and transshipments in the Trojmiasta ports. This increase is intended to be achieved despite the existence of many barriers to the development of the maritime economy. Among these should be mentioned, for example, the poor ratio in the industrial structure characterizing the Gdansk Voivodship: a decided predominance of large enterprises associated with the maritime economy over plants producing for the market. Other problems are the high increments of migration into the Trojmiasta population. Actually at present this is not as severe as in 1975-1976, when about 12,000 people arrived annually, but it is still a substantial problem today, particularly because the labor market is still very hungry, since there are currently estimated to be approximately 10,000 unfilled jobs. Of this number shipyard production alone requires about 3,000 new workers. In the context of this problem it is



necessary, among other things, to improve the situation in housing construction. S. Milewski, in summarizing the activity associated with maritime economy development, emphasized the need to connect it with the living and social problems.

The Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary, Andrzej Karnabal, spoke about the extent of implementation of the resolutions of the Tenth Central Committee Plenum by the party councils. He also presented information about preparations for the Voivodship Committee Plenum.

Adam Krzysztopouloski, the deputy minister and the director of UGM [Office of Material Management] presented information on the progress of work connected with the government timetable for achieving the resolutions of the Tenth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in the area of state maritime policy adopted by the Council of Ministers on 8 November 1982. According to the assessment presented on the implementation of 16 points in this timetable, it may be anticipated that these jobs will be finished before the deadline, that is, by 30 September of this year. A. Krzysztopouloski also summarized the activity of the department associated with the anti-inflation and thrift program.

In the discussion the participants at the meeting questioned the information presented. Among other things they indicated the need for integration of maritime economy and for results from the implementation of a state maritime policy.

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PROVINCIAL POST-CONGRESS PRON CONSEQUENCES NOTED

Assessment of PRON Congress Results

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 16 May 83 p 3

[Article by Henryk Pawlak: "As We Are So We Shall Remain?" under the rubric "Following the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]" ]

[Text] I

Ever since my return from Warsaw my co-workers, acquaintances and friends have been asking me what that Congress was really like, how do I assess it, and what has it specifically contributed to us all. I was its participant, a member of the Lodz delegation, and I rejoice greatly at all these questions, even though answers to them are not easy at all. For they demonstrate that--contrary to various opinions--the Movement is not hanging in a social vacuum, and that something is expected of it. Of course, it was reported in the press, radio and television, which transmitted a fairly rich picture of the congress discussion. But the mass media could not convey the inimitable climate of that all-Polish meeting of men of goodwill as well as all the subtleties of the multifaceted exchange of ideas. What is more we all would like a synthesis, general conclusions--which require a maximum amount of data, some distancing and deeper reflections.

Thus if I am attempting to describe my personal feelings on this event of such immeasurable importance in our life, I am aware that this will be the first intimate "touching" on the topic rather than a social, political or view-oriented analysis representing a closed assessment of the Congress.

II

During the general debate some 100 speeches had been made. I stubbornly sought in them a leitmotif, asking myself whether accord among individuals of differing political views, ideological attitudes and outlook is possible. Because, precisely in these speeches, no one camouflaged his own self and everyone displayed a greatly different approach to the problems of our times, to the situation of the country and society. All speakers were characterized by a critical attitude toward the aspects they described or analyzed. In every case, however, this criticism was tremendously charged with goodwill and a constructive intent and concerned specific matters and facts. And I believe that this common approach by all harbors one of the premises of national accord.

Each delegation brought along to the Congress a "dossier of cases to resolve," on the one hand, and a multitude of proposals for their solution, on the other. To

whom where they addressed? Of course, to "the authorities," but at the same time the deliberations at the Congress acquired a highly significant tenor--the realization that it is precisely "we" who are "the authorities." In this "we" lies latent all that we ourselves should and could do as well as what we need from "our" authorities in order to act efficiently and effectively. In sum then, a dialogue on /ways of repairing the fabric of the Republic/ [printed in boldface] was created.

This is yet another premise of national accord, which revealed itself in all its explicitness during the Congress.

Patriotism, which is a supreme motto of our Movement, is a concept that is, contrary to appearances, quite difficult to define, for it concerns the intimate feelings of each of us, is variously interpreted and has its own historical and political subcontexts. I think it was good that this word was not used in the capacity of a panacea during the discussion but instead imbued with specific intellectual and emotional connotations as reflected in both allusions to the traditions of our national literature, the thoughts of our great writers and politicians, and reflections about our present situation. There was common consensus that the concept of patriotism implies honest and committed work for the country, concern for passing on this land of ours to future generations in a form unblemished by the technological civilization, and a just and democratic socialism-building state. One more thing: the participants in the congress displayed repeatedly, in the context of various facts and issues raised, a spontaneous desire for a precise definition of what we call national dignity. Foreign aid? Of course, but under partnership agreements free of that climate which certain Western "benefactors" are trying to impose on us.

Thus, these new practical and creative discourses on patriotism also provide an argument in favor of national accord. As demonstrated by the Congress discussion, these discourses can be creative and fruitful if they are waged here in our country, among ourselves, and combined with work and action. This last aspect was mentioned very often in the Congress Auditorium, repeating that it is our deeds that will count, not words.

### III

To a participant in this kind of all-Polish meeting one more thing was unusually thrilling. Namely, he gained a panoramic view, as it were, of our society and its thoughts and feelings. Delegates from, say, Zamosc, Szczecin, Warsaw or Lodz might speak about social, economic or cultural problems, about matters vital to their hometown or home province, and it would turn out that these concerns are common to all, that they cannot be viewed parochially but have to be resolved on a national scale.

The Congress Resolution integrated the essence of these speeches in nine thematic groups. How much we have to accomplish?! Disseminate patriotic attitudes; promote patriotic upbringing; develop respect for work, material and spiritual boons and private and public property; democratize our life; restore the importance of citizenship; foster a proper respect for education and culture; promote the concern for treasures of national culture; and markedly improve environmental protection against the threats posed by urbanization and modern technological culture. There also are such problems as the protection of health

of the nation, the struggle against manifestations of social pathology and care for the child and the family, for its living conditions and moral level. And also the economic reform with special consideration of the food situation? And Poland's international position?

We are sometimes asked, "What do you at the PRON really want?" It is precisely the solution of these problems that we want! Can they be indifferent to any one of us, to any Pole? Are those in the right who claim that the salvation of our country lies in "internal emigration" [my quotation marks--translator] rather than in pursuing and achieving, in simply building the country? These are the questions which we all asked of ourselves in the Congress Auditorium. How many things are there to be done jointly, by even those people who feel bitter and discouraged and trust no one and anything! There were such individuals at the Congress, too. This is very good. They, too, must have concluded from the exchange of views that "we have only one Poland" and should work for its good. The need for positivist "organic work," that arduous, patient and honest creation of material boons setting the nation's economy on its feet, was often mentioned. I think that to all these people the PRON also provides a chance, for all those who agree with us on this, for "having to make a start somewhere...."

#### IV

As we are so we shall remain? This is another question that must have agitated us Congress participants. We are gathering--as society--thoughts and strength and are still far from optimism and faith in leaping over the obstacles looming in front of us. We are critical and cautious in our every action. We often display--let me say this--hypersensitivity and mutual mistrust in such matters as "democracy" and the credibility of the authorities, all authorities--including PRON officers in whose election we ourselves had a direct say, as well as those emerging from the social structures on the scale of the region, the province or the state.

All this is true and this truth was denied by no one during the discussion. What is more, it was then openly presented in its entirety. But the fact that this issue had also absorbed so much attention from the representatives of the authorities and representatives of society must be significant here. The activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, both the "central" ones and those from individual localities or gminas [parishes] clearly articulated their desire to shape the future principles of socialist democracy so that the notorious division into "we" and "they", which still persists in society, would become a thing of the past.

I deliberately omit referring here to the PRON's program documents voted upon at the Congress as well as to specific proposals for Constitutional or legislative solutions, since they all have already been repeatedly publicized and broadly discussed.

I need not add here either that the platform for national accord and its political context are contained in the declaration of 20 July of last year of the signatories to the establishment of the PRON--a declaration that sums up all the earlier public and civic initiatives. By signatories I mean the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party and the lay Catholic associations.

Let me return to the initial question: What was this Congress like and what did it contribute to us? It was a multifaceted, authentic debate full of commitment to the socialist renewal of our country, and it was the sum total of present-day public feelings and desires, as comprised in documents containing a program of action for entire years ahead. It has provided a chance which may not be forfeited. It is up to us all, regardless of whether we are participants in the Movement or are joined by the common desire to struggle for a better future, to exploit this chance.

#### PRON Activities Among Communities

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19 May 83 p 3

[Letters to the Editors: "Letters, Opinions, Polemics"]

[Text] When I Think of the PRON [Letter from Mieczyslaw Czernicki, Wroclaw]

The activities of the PRON arouse growing interest among a large segment of our society. We hear in the mass media much about the idea of national accord and understanding, about the aims and goals of this social movement. No honest citizen of our country denies the need for such an understanding. There arise, nevertheless, certain observations and doubts of a general nature. In our reality, in our fatherland, a social patriotic movement is inseparably linked to the principles of the socialist system of society. The concepts of patriotism and socialism cannot exist in isolation from one another. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] cannot be some social organization divorced from the realities, from socialist principles and ideals. It must be a reflector and a spokesman of the needs and desires of working people and primarily of their vanguard--the working class. The percentile proportion of workers in the PRON is low. Most PRON members are from the intelligentsia, particularly scientists, economists and representatives of the world of art. In my subjective estimation this is a negative phenomenon. A large part of workers--rightly or wrongly--mistrust this social group. This is due to many causes, which I do not intend to analyze, because they are familiar to the general public. Workers want to know and feel certain that the PRON will represent fittingly and consistently their coinciding interests. Can they truly be certain of this?

In view of the conflicts in the views and interests of discrete social groups, the PRON's activists do not face an easy task. After all, national accord and understanding cannot be "in style" like those mottos of the Gierk era when the myth of one-class society and the community of interests of all Poles had reigned and the slogan of "cementing" this nation was launched--a nation in which the interests of the worker and respect for his labor are alien to many people, which contains many who are ill-disposed or even hostile to our system of society. Can one be a spokesman simultaneously for worker interests and the interests of the rich peasant, the private sector and the clergy (as a whole)--protecting some while at the same time coquettishly "ogling" others? How can popularity and the support and understanding of the entire society be gained? In a nutshell, how can everyone be pleased? What is more, how can the alienated segment of the public be won over? How can open enemies of our system of society be persuaded?

I believe that such doubts are entertained by not only the citizenry but also most of the PRON activists themselves. It seems to us that attracting and

winning over for its goals and intentions a majority of the workers and their faith and trust would be a big feather in the PRON's cap. This precisely is the direction in which all PRON initiatives should proceed. Discreet (but obvious) nods in the direction of those to whom the interests of the worker and the elementary principles of socialism are alien have the effect of wakening doubts, mistrust and discouragement and undermine the idea of understanding as well as the popularity of the PRON as a social movement.

Who is to Blame? [Letter from N. N., Legnica Province; name and address known to editors]

When I read articles about the countryside, its inhabitants and their life, I (and, I believe, other farmers too) feel deep sadness, to say the least. This is because these articles abound in pretensions toward farmers or even display hate of farmers on the grounds that they do not provide cities with enough meat, bread, milk, etc. Such articles are written by "editors" in a mood of outrage against and pretensions toward farmers. The cities also have pretensions because farmers live better, earn more, etc. Let us look the truth in the eye. After all, in every respect, peasants are worse off and ranked below city-dwellers, and it is chiefly owing to city-dwellers that a peasant's life is one of suffering, toil and often also misery and poverty. I cannot understand why it is chiefly farmers (of whom 77 percent are past the able-bodied age) that are burdened with the cost of the economic crisis. Why are city-dwellers complaining that farmers supposedly pay low taxes, as has been said by pseudo-workers--for how else can they be called?--at their conference in Warsaw? Open your eyes and mind.

It was not the countryside that had caused the economic crisis, yet it is the peasants chiefly that are burdened with its consequences. The countryside has increased its production and deliveries to the cities, but the cities do not even know how to process that production into quality goods or prevent the wasting of huge quantities of these goods. The countryside does not receive many manufactured goods from the cities. The countryside is short of everything--clothing, footwear, hosiery, etc. There is a scarcity of machinery and implements, and if they happen to be available then only at horrendous prices. On the other hand, it is the countryside that has to feed millions. It is the cities that reduced their production, not the countryside. Until now the city-dwellers had a great time: they drank, dolled themselves up, caroused and expanded their cities without making much effort in behalf of the country and nation! Suffice it to look on at what they are doing at present--the same thing or perhaps worse. So whence these pretensions? Let them begin everything themselves, let them do work as it should be done. It was not only Gierek or Jaroszewicz that had caused the economic crisis. Its principal perpetrators were workers. It was the workers who have devastated the country and ruined it through their drunkenness and who now walk (or teeter) in dandy clothes showing no exhaustion from toil, who crowd the stores (especially the liquor stores). Then there is the devastated public property, the streets, staircases and other premises covered with spit and sh.... Where is that economic crisis so far as they are concerned? Trade unions protect them--I ask, protect against what? The worst thing is that the party protects them. It is inconceivable that such things are happening in a state with a system of social justice. Those pseudo-workers know how to fight for their interests. What is more, the state even pays part of their vacation expenses and other wants, and it finances the over-expanded social security system. So the town-dwellers have fun and multiply. The rural dwellers must--unfortunately--toil and receive almost nothing in return.

I have a 5 years old car. I need tires and a car battery but cannot buy them because I live in a backwoods village which is not reached even by PKS [State Motor Transport] buses. The town-dwellers, on the other hand, have everything. If some self-respecting newspaper were to scold these pseudo-workers and publish my letter, perhaps they would be brought to reason and genuinely begin working. This is impossible, of course, because how can a town-dweller write badly about himself?

/Our reader, with his grievance about the unjust "attacks" against farmers, attacks in an unreasoned manner precisely those who live in cities. He is surely unjust, because neither all rural dwellers nor all town dwellers can be branded with the same label, nor can all be equally censured for their work performance, lifestyle, etc. Were we to write about farmers in the same manner as the writer of the above letter writes about town-dwellers--blaming them for every possible sin, we would be showered with complaints. But really no one thinks of farmers in that way. We publish this letter so that, among other reasons, its writer would not accuse us of "partiality" in this matter and discarding letters from the countryside into the wastebasket. This proves otherwise. The writer mentioned in his postscript that he would like to become our rural correspondent. Most certainly we agree, and we would be happy if you wrote us in specific detail about rural matters./

#### PRON Activities Against General Distrust

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 May '83 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Raducha: "Break Through the Barrier of Mistrust and Passive Waiting"]

[Text] /The first cells of the PRON were mostly established by activists of the Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [OKON]. This had also happened in the four branches of the State Motor Transport [PKS] in Bialystok. The PRON founding team, formed on 5 October of last year, continued the initial forms of work of the OKON. It participated in organizing the celebrations of national holidays and maintaining the graves of Polish and Soviet servicemen fallen during the last war and helped social service commissions and departments./ [printed in boldface]

In time it was decided that, in view of the distant location of the PKS District Directorate and Passenger Department, whose offices are housed on Fabryczna Street, from the other three Departments (Freight Forwarding, Repair, and Supply), which are located on Octowa Street, two separate groups had to be formed. It was simply realized that it would be a waste of time to travel to meetings, because the most urgent matters can be settled by telephone; besides, joint meetings are still held, but not as often.

In the middle of March of last year the boards of both PRON organizations were elected. Zdzislaw Kawa was elected the chairman of the PRON circle at the PKS on Fabryczna Street, and the following board members were elected as well: Antoni Wieslaw, Roman Jakubiak, Eugeniusz Kisielewski and Tadeusz Olizarewicz. Zygmunt Polocki became elected the chairman of the PRON circle at the PKS departments on Octowa Street. The former circle has 23 members and the latter, 28.

Currently PRON members are focusing on more specific tasks, for example:

Zdzislaw Kawa declared: "While we still had been OKON activists, we helped the management to direct the enterprise. We never organized large meetings with presentation of reports. Instead, we worked in small groups. We provided explanations and argued with others. We organized projects with the participation of neighboring establishments. This is how we organized the maintenance of the graves of partisans and Polish and Soviet servicemen in Grodek. We also established contact with the Frontier Guards [WOP]. We participated in planting a forest. Currently we will attempt to help the management combat waste and pilferage. And in our everyday work we make people sensitive about the right attitude toward their duties. Our own example is not trivial in this respect. Persons not belonging to the PRON, including youth, are beginning to cooperate with us. There are 23 of us and in time there will be more. Besides what matters is not the number of participants but the quality of their action."

Antoni Wieslaw, chief of the traffic control department, said: "Under martial law the number of abuses in our organization has declined. Unfortunately, this year eight drivers had to be suspended. We want to get rid of abuses and we are working on the proper forms of remuneration for employees. The results of our work may not be as apparent as fruit on trees, but they certainly exist. This may be exemplified by the fact alone that PRON activists from other establishments, e.g. recently from the Bialystok Glass Works, come to us for advice. It is a pity that so far our drivers are not participating in the PRON, save one, Mikolaj Aleksiejczuk."

Eugeniusz Zbucki, first secretary of the basic party organization [POP], declared: I believe that the separation of our PRON circles has contributed to quickening activism. Since elections to self-government have not yet taken place here, we publicize among the workforce the provisions of the decree on the enterprise and worker self-government."

Zygmunt Polocki said: "Our PRON organization also participates in social services. We enabled the employees to buy fruits at low prices. This is all the more important considering that social services commissions no longer exist but the trade union has not yet been registered. I am convinced that it is precisely the PRON that provides at present the best platform for social action."

Mieczyslaw Domagala declared: "I think that after several months of our work we'll become more visible, although even now people come to us when something bad happens."

What do the activists from the Bialystok PKS expect from the PRON's National Congress? Below are several comments:

ZDZISLAW KAWA: I believe that the Congress will, above all, develop a common socio-political platform of action.

EUGENIUSZ KISIELEWSKI: I expect that the Congress and the post-Congress activities will result in the formation of an organization which will authentically represent Polish society.

RYSZARD LIDER: The Congress is certain to initiate work on new voting



RYSZARD LIDER: The Congress is certain to initiate work on new voting regulations. In addition, I expect that, following the Congress, new socio-political organizations, especially trade unions, will join the PRON.

ANTONI WIESLAW: I expect that the PRON will revise the current administrative division into provinces. This brings me to mention a local paradox: From Bialystok there are 130 km to Suwalki and 200 to Przasnysz, yet the District Directorate of the PKS in Bialystok administers branches in the Bialystok, Lomza and Ostroleka provinces but not in the Suwalki Province.

EUGENIUSZ ZBUCKI: I expect discussion of the economic reform and in time the establishment of effective mechanisms providing incentives for that reform.

RYSZARD BRYSIIEWICZ: I think that the PRON Congress will start rallying our society round the socially most important goals.

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Few workers have as yet joined the PRON. When I visited the PKS Passenger Department, at the maintenance station it turned out that the workers employed there have not yet been visited by PRON activists. To be sure, Eugeniusz Kisielewski, deputy chief of the Department, stops by there now and then but the workers chiefly perceive him as their official superior. Yet, they have many vexatious problems. Consider, for example, the new pits for inspecting buses. Instead of these pits, a new office building was built....

The offices of the PKS District Directorate are contiguous to the Personnel Department. The workers see how many clerks work there. And they also see that these clerks, by their "light work," earn as much and more than they. Two years ago it used to happen that the clerks were relegated to the end of the queue at the department canteen. Now it is the workers who are thus treated. And sometimes when, after work, they enter a store to buy candy with ration coupons, there is no candy left because the administrative personnel buys it all up earlier whereas the workers are not allowed a work break for this purpose.

I will not engage in polemics here, because the picture is not all black-and-white. It would be worthwhile, however, for the PRON activists to reach these blue-collar workers, who once used to engage in authentic social work and now avoid it (one of the workers with whom I talked was a member of the Worker Council for 9 years).

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PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Poznan Preparatory PRON Campaign

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 1, 2

[Article by 1: "In Komorniki About Problems of PRON and Gmina [Parish]; With the Participation of Prof J Ozdowski"]

[Text] A preparatory campaign preceding two important PRON events--voivodship meetings (in Poznan, 9th of this month), and the PRON congress in Warsaw, on 7-9 May this year--is under way. Meetings are being conducted, attended, on the initiative of individuals who are engaged in the realization of the idea of national understanding, by many people from towns and villages.

Yesterday, on the 5th of this month, in the Gmina [Parish] Office hall in Komorniki near Poznan there was a meeting of Prof Jerzy Ozdowski, vice-chairman of the Provisional National Council of PRON, deputy speaker of Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, with PRON's activities. Present was also chairman of the TRW [Provisional Provincial Council] of PRON in Poznan, vice-chairman of the TRK [Provisional National Council], Augustyn Kogut.

The numerous representatives of all the gmina's social groups as well as guests by the chairman of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth of Komorniki, Stanislaw Stangierski.

Afterwards, Prof J Ozdowski presented perspectives of Polish agriculture in the light of economic reform. He stated, among other things, that problems of agriculture from the very beginning have occupied a significant position in PRON's activity, a testimony of this is a large number of farmers who participate in this movement. Problems of pluralism and dialogue apply also to agriculture and its structure. The dominating principles of the agricultural policy, therefore, should be: stabilization and credibility, consistent application of constitutional rules in the area of agriculture. Sejm has already approved organizational and legal foundations of the new economic model, said J Ozdowski. He has also discussed in detail the phases of implementation of the principles of economic reform and main objectives of the 3-year plan's measures concerning agriculture.

Prof J Ozdowski gave high marks to the agriculture of Wielkopolska region, stressing that it should be propagated as a model for the whole country. Because in the Wielkopolska region a model of modern agriculture has evolved, a "civic-minded" model, that is, one that runs its farm in a modern way and that is receptive to the country's problems.

The discussion centered primarily around the problems of agriculture, but also involved the need of change of the health services' mode of operation, problems of reconciliation and credibility. Problems that are the closest ones to the gmina of Komorniki were also touched upon. Among others, the immediate needs concerning the infrastructure in the Plewiska subdivision, where PRON has recently initiated a subdivision committee, were presented, as well as gmina's troubles with its supply of natural gas.

Farmers' questions were being answered by Piotr Jakubiak, head of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry of the Voivodship Government, who was present at the meeting.

Augustyn Kogut, chairman of the TRW of PRON talked about the need of verifying the widespread stereotypes as well as about the need of reviving of the ties between the town and the village, seeking for the ways of achieving an understanding instead of exacerbating mutual animosities.

Once more Prof J Ozdowski spoke. He answered individually all questions raised by the discussants. He thanked the participants for a frank discussion, stressing that this is the new PRON way of participation in the country's problems--based on the principle of respect for different convictions and rebirth through responsible participation in all walks of public life.

#### PRON--Rediscovery of Individual

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Lucyna Lyszczyk: "PRON--That Is Rediscovery of Individual; In My Opinion"]

[Text] The problem of "silent majority," a wait-and-see attitude, society's feeling of missing something and its disappointments begets, a major moral crisis as Jerzy Ozdowski, vice-speaker of Sejm, observed at the Poznan meeting with Wprost, a need of rebirth of each individual taken separately.

Meanwhile, social life seems not to be changing at all. A wall of indifference, a still water that is impossible to stir. The human being has been lost somewhere. The postwar generations was better fed, clad and educated than the prewar ones, but in this race for "better" and "more," however, there was no time left for building character. The family model has undergone a change, economic values were brought to the fore, while moral and spiritual values were pushed into the background. This also fell in time, a seemingly abstract category but at the same time a moral one. Teachers talk about lack of time as an excuse for failing to talk with their students about the values of humanism. Quite often parents prefer to give their child some new object, money, anything, in order to avoid giving an answer to a difficult question.

Model breeding of children has replaced upbringing. The value of a young man is measured at first with scales and a ruler, afterwards with his grades. Diplomas and certificates are sufficient and take preference over honest knowledge and social usefulness, ambition and avarice in one's pursuit of ultimate satisfaction result in trampling once for all what is most important and most valuable in man: respect for other persons, for fellow citizens, neighbors; an ability to sacrifice and share part of one's goods with others has been replaced by egotism that makes it impossible to communicate with others and that releases one's aggression.

In the circumstances described above, the return to the ideals of humanism, the rebirth in the spiritual domain must be a long process.

Even politicians and political writers are not sure how to talk about social problems. The language of national conciliation is today not less important than forms and contents that it wants to relate. Prof Marian Dobrosielski has written about this in GAZETA. Let us recall: "Authentic dialogue, discussion, clash of views to work out a common approach--those are extremely difficult tasks for the Poles. Already Norwid stated that 'We know only how to quarrel or love, but we do not know how to differ in a beautiful and powerful way.'"

In our public life we constantly hear the call for a moral and principled man. Formidable control mechanisms fail if there is lack of people guided by a strong moral code and by principles that only recently used to be ignored. It is often said: the prewar generation were a generation of Columbuses--those were the only ones who worked honestly because they had it in their blood. Today, it is not difficult to find among young people specialists with an even better knowledge, so what....

Teachers are calling for the restoration of ideals and models, the integral educational front that quite recently was fashionable, turned out to be a myth. The winner is a double morality, a double face--one for daily use, another for the holiday.

This instruction has not been a wasted time. Because when parents talk about the need of helping the weaker ones, they just suggest appropriate readings on this topic, at the same time they compete with one another in buying for one's child more than the neighbor's has, while at school the example of Judym was essentially discussed solely as an abstract class topic. Youth, is a keen and absorbing observer, take practical lessons. And the result is what we see. There are good laws but they are not being executed, there is language which does not make understanding possible. I am afraid to open widely-read papers: Is the next article by a young journalist going to make fun of bald ones and the hunchbacks? Because one can ridicule practically anything, most preferably those who cannot defend themselves.

Among this deluge of heartlessness and the impossibility of conciliation, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has undertaken the most difficult task. Moral rebirth of society is--it has been recognized--the precondition for everything. In Poznan they did not hesitate to start from the foundations.

An idea of building a day refuge for handicapped children, this to be accompanied by an intention to simultaneously bring them closer to other children of an equal age. Assistance of the latter in their daily problems is a very important task. If only each healthy child had a physically or mentally handicapped friend and would be involved with him emotionally, there would not be a problem of "wolf's" laws. If only the ideas of socialist humanism could reach the society instead of their surrogates....

For this reason PRON considers the cause of moral rebirth, a renewal that applies to everybody with no exceptions, as an issue number one.

#### PRON--Sign of Cooperation, Responsibility

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Prof Habilitatus, Seweryn Dziamski: "PRON--Cooperation and Responsibility"]

[Text] The events of 1980-1981 have revealed sociopolitical rifts of a very complex nature. They do not conform to the division between the authorities and the society only, neither are they confined to the traditional view about the class essence of the divergent economic and sociopolitical interests. Political desintegration and a long-lasting and acute economic crisis became also a source of many phenomena that threaten the nation's life, glaring examples of which are various forms of social pathology. In this situation, Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has become a form of self-defense of material, political and moral existence of the whole nation.

The initiators of this movement, who come from different social strata and communities, consider their main task overcoming the existing ideopolitical divisions that make any collective activities impossible, while the latter determine not only the speedy pulling the country out of its crisis but also its political stabilization and its further economic and cultural development. This movement considers the dialogue between society and the authorities the only way that can assure realization of those patriotic tasks, first of all the dialogue between the various strata and groups of society that differ politically, ideologically and in their world outlook. This is the only way of reaching national conciliation that, in the shape of an organized sociopolitical opinion, can become a conscious of its efforts will of collective, and at the same time patriotic, activity.

Dialogue and conciliation are the values of political culture which PRON considers to be the only ones that can be accepted in the sociopolitical life of the socialist state. Dialogue and conciliation, therefore, are not the ultimate aim of this movement. They are merely instrumental values that serve their formulation and social self-defining.

The nation's patriotic forces are this movement's sovereign. For this reason this movement is not and cannot be just a nonparty block of support for the authorities, even less so a social transmitter of their decisions and actions. In its effort to become a real movement of nation's patriotic forces, PRON cannot either restrict its aims and tasks to the phenomena related to the current economic and political crisis. This is why it should not be seen as some new, merely reformed, initiator and organizer of socially useful tasks, that cultivates lofty ideals of positive, therefore organic work. It would also be a simplification to restrict it to a strictly humanitarian movement aiming exclusively to free the society from its pathological plagues and its ideo-moral frustration that has affected many groups and milieus regardless of their age status and the scope and nature of their life experiences.

If the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth wants to be a live and dynamic movement it cannot, though, remain indifferent to the everyday needs of the whole of society. For this reason it is necessary for it to cooperate with the authorities, as its initiatives are indispensable to speedier pulling the country out of its crisis situation and of the social plagues that go with it. However, efforts of this kind cannot constitute movement's main tasks, even less decide its fundamental character.

It clearly does not mean that PRON is supposed to play a hazily-defined role of some kind of supraclass and ideologically as well as world outlook-wise independent political party. PRON does not attempt to shape some new organized political force which would direct its efforts toward an institutional partnership in the execution of power. This kind of endeavors would be contrary to the very essence of this movement, which, by the virtue of being a movement independent from any existing party and sociopolitical organization, intends to remain primarily an all-national sociopolitical value that conforms to the constitutional privileges of each member of the socialist national community.

There is no doubt that only those actions that result in granting the status of real sociopolitical subjects to the nation as a whole, can guarantee endowing the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth with this social value. In the most general sense this means that the various strata and social groups exercise a role of actual masters of their country, conscious of the political and cultural consequences of their activities. The status of subjects can be attained by society only if it is assured a genuine participation in designing principal directions and defining main forms of the socioeconomic, political, and cultural practices of our country. Thus, PRON intends to create for the nation's patriotic forces the institutional possibilities for their participation in the capacity of an administrator of social life, which always constituted a traditional feature of ruler's attributes. To put it differently, PRON's aim is not only to assure the nation as a whole an awareness of its own history, but also to enable the nation to actively co-shape its history, in accordance with its vital interests and aspirations. By creating possibilities of activities for the society as a whole, PRON represents, therefore, a new sociopolitical quality in the socialist legal-political system.

Because one of the important causes of the current political crisis in Poland has been an unequivocal assignment to the organs of state the function of governing over the country's life. It became the principal cause of the division between the authorities and society. Thus, PRON is a movement that aims at endowing the administrative function, traditionally a prerogative of the government, with live contents, an all-social one that confirms to the essence of the people's power. It can be done only through conscious joining by the wide masses the active economic, political, and cultural life of the country. This is the only way the division between the authorities and the society can be abolished.

It is understandable that this kind of participation of large masses in governing the country means also deciding jointly about its fate. It is also the basic condition of civic responsibility of the whole society for the decisions that have been made and for the way they are being executed. The nation can be made responsible for its acts and their social consequences only if they are a result of its conscious choice and its will to act. PRON wants to ensure that they are assured organizational social conditions.

Those general aims of the PRON movement define also the character of its programmatic activities. They cannot be unequivocally defined activities, since PRON itself, as a movement, is to be subjected to a process of constant sociopolitical self-defining. The general framework of this process can be designated only by the scope and magnitude of the reforms that include both organization of the economic life as well as the socialist sociopolitical system being in force in Poland since many years. Consequently, PRON's programmatic activity should aim at consistent implementing of [the aforementioned] in the country's economic and political life.

An indispensable condition of executing thus construed programs of PRON is, however, shaping an appropriate sociopolitical consciousness, particularly among the nation's creative and patriotic forces. This consciousness should take into account just desires and ambitions of the various classes, groups, and social strata, depending on their role in the overall economic and cultural life of the country and the nation. It should not also ignore social and political experiences of the workers' protest of August 1980. Although, later stormy events have revealed the enormous and often dangerous role played by emotions if they become the principal ingredient of the political culture of various social groups.

For this reason, therefore, the programmatic tasks of PRON should include activities that should result in restoring proper rank and place of the realistic sociopolitical attitudes. That realism must become a component of the sociopolitical consciousness that motivates the collective effort of the whole nation.

## Poznan Province PRON Congress

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by 1: "Do Not Pause in Creating Climate for National Accord; Voivodship Congress of PRON in Poznan Has Convened; Augustyn Kogut Chairman of the Voivodship Council; Poznan Representatives in National Council; Further Delegates to PRON Congress Elected"]

[Text] On Saturday, the 9th of this month, at the great hall of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, the Voivodship Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has convened. Participating were almost 400 persons--delegates from 65 gmina [parish] and precinct PRONs and OKONs, as well as from 90 elements functioning in workplaces and various communities of Poznan Voivodship. They represented over 12,000 champions of conciliation and social agreement that are active in the voivodship.

The congress' guests have also arrived in force: representatives of the signatories of the July Declaration and of the Commission on Cooperation, among others, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Poznan, Gen Edward Lukasik and Poznan governor Dr Marian Krol.

In the congress presidium were seated: Maciej Olejniczak (PZPR), Alfred Wawrzyniak (PAX) and Andrzej Elbanowski (PZKS) who was the first president of the debates. Afterwards, according to a delegate's motion, the remaining presidium members took turns in presiding over the congress.

### Report of TRW Presidium

After the congress debating rules were made known and two commissions were elected--one for mandates and one for programs, Augustyn Kogut, chairman of the Provisional Provincial Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Poznan, presented a report of its presidium. Not without good reason is the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth called a great chance for Poland and the Poles. It is still a young movement that gradually and does not easily blend into the ideological and political scenery of contemporary Poland. It has passed three stages of its materialization. The beginning stage was one of defining of the idea of national rebirth, its initial realization and materialization (the OKON movement). The second stage was one of activity devoted to forming its voivodship structures and setting up initiating commissions. At the same time it is a transition to the third stage--a stage of a movement that not only is organized but is active, creates new phenomena and irreversible facts. The decision to initiate PRON in Poznan Voivodship was made 3 July 1982, at the meeting of the Voivodship Commission of Cooperation of PZPR, ZSL, and SD. The Provisional Provincial Council in Poznan has been set up at the meeting on 29 November last year. Three problems commissions and a number of small working units were set up.

In all the movement's elements a pregress (the voivodship and the national) discussion has been conducted that was dominated in many instances by the local problems and worries, such as poor work of retail trade and services,



improper management of housing, problems of municipal services, speculation. In the case of villages, in turn, it concerned problems of the poor state of deliveries of agricultural supplies, improper--in the eyes of the farmers--prices of services, faulty management of land resources, as well as improper operation and bureaucracy of the local administration and agricultural offices. Much attention, though, has been also devoted to the most important problems for the nation's existence: conciliation and dialogue, seeking things that unite all. At the same time--stated A Kogut--the movement's base is too narrow, many social groups display reserve toward PRON, a wait-and-see attitude, or even reluctance. This is true of, among others, some segments of youth and artists and writers. With today's congress we close the pre-congress campaign in our voivodship, but we do not close, though, the intensive struggle for conciliation. We are witnesses of an important moment in the development of PRON, a Movement that became a great cause and a great chance for Poles. It is our duty to take advantage of this chance as well as possible.

#### Discussion

Twelve persons participated in the discussion, 13 persons submitted their comments in writing to be included in the minutes.

Many problems were raised, including those that are fundamental PRON issues: credibility, social justice, need for reestablishing ties between the towns and the villages, return to the just social principles that guide the division of national income, broad participation of the movement in shaping new principles and social relations, in strengthening of social values and preventing the occurrence of irregularities in the political and social life of the country. All the pronouncements were imbued with a deep concern, a civic anxiety about the future, and a desire to actively participate in the present. Among others, Henryk Przybylski, a young engineer from the precinct of Wilda in Poznan, talked about the need for bringing closer the authorities to the society through reestablishing precinct peoples' councils. He has also raised the issues of wages in state enterprises and in nonsocialized firms, forestalling the growing social dissatisfaction with the wage disproportions and considerable worsening of the situation of an employee of the socialized economy in comparison, for instance, with the Polonia businesses, or private shops.

Jan Urban, OKON activist from Old Town, talked about his concern for the action program and the social prestige of the PRON movement.

Jozef Lisowski, an employee of Pollena-Lechia Cosmetics Factory, submitted a motion to set up a civic committee for the construction of rehabilitation centers for crippled children. The congress has accepted this proposal and a 40 member committee has been created.

Greetings from the congress participants were presented also by the Poznan governor, Dr Marian Krol. He has also talked about shaping a new model of functioning of the state administration and state official--one at the service of the citizen and acting as instruments in solving his problems arising from his contacts with the economic administration. PRON's postulates in this area are the foundation of mutual relationships and dependencies, they are [the guidelines] in working out a model of an official who serves the society.

The chairman of the programs commission of the congress, Prof Wiktor Pawlak, has announced that at the moment, before the basic documents of PRON are approved by its congress, it is impossible to accept an action program in a closed and full form. Out of concern for the coherence of actions of the movement as a whole, all the voices pertaining to the direction of PRON's activity, including the initial draft of the programmatic document, will be worked out and submitted to the Voivodship Council at its special meeting.

Closing PRON debates that lasted over 6 hours, Alfred Wawrzyniak, who presided over the congress' last stage, stated that it was a genuine event, reflecting accurately the situation of the society, the expression of which was the range of problems that were raised during the congress. The successive stage on this road is creating a climate for national conciliation. Since this movement still remains at the beginning of this road, its institutional form is a means and not an end, because PRON does not have a monopoly for social conciliation and does not pretend to be the sole partner on this road. It does claim, however, a deep conviction about the rightfulness of its actions, a feeling of intellectual and moral humility toward the nation. The congress was closed with a joint singing of the National Anthem.

During the congress 11 delegates that were proposed by the recommendations commission and who will attend the [national] congress were also elected (39 delegates were elected by the basic elements of PRON and OKON). They are: Andrzej Dubas, professor at the Agricultural Academy; Pawel Gorski, Dr of mechanical engineering from the Poznan Technical University; Dorota Juszczak, a journalist with the Polish Radio; Przemyslaw Kwilecki, a lawyer from the Polish National Bank; Dominik Ludwiczak, an independent farmer from the village of Trzebow, gmina of Steszew; Maciej Olejniczak, secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee; Jan Olejniczak, an employee of PKP; Michal Piechocki, a mechanic from PKS; Dominik Poglodzinski, a craftsman from Miloslaw; Marian Rajewski, an agricultural engineer at the Beekeeping Cooperative; Zdzislaw Skakuj, an engineer at the HCP.

In addition, the Voivodship Congress recommended six persons to be included in the National Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth: Boguslaw Ciesielski, an OKON activist from Jezyce, member of Voivodship Committee of SD; Pawel Gorski, vice-chairman of the Voivodship Chapter of the PAX Association; Dorota Juszczak, a journalist, member of TRW of PRON; Augustyn Kogut, vice-chairman of the TRK of PRON, mechanic, building machines operator, chairman of the Voivodship Council of PRON; Dominik Ludwiczak, member of the NK ZSL; Henryk Przybylski, chairman of the ZD ZSMP and DR of PRON in Poznan-Wilda.

The congress additionally elected a new (no longer temporary) Voivodship Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Poznan, out of which a 20-member presidium was selected. As the presidium chairman Augustyn Kogut was elected by voice vote. Six vice-chairmen were also elected unanimously. The vice-chairmen of the RW of PRON are: Andrzej Elbanowski, Miroslaw Kopinski, Dominik Ludwiczak, Maciej Olejniczak, Alfred Wawrzyniak and Maria Wojciechowska. The chairman of the Audits Commission was elected, Wincenty Falkowski, a PRON and OKON activist in Poznan-Nowe Miasto.

## Selection of Wloclawek PRON Representatives

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 11 Apr 83 pp 1, 5

[Article: "We Have Common Aim; Wloclawek Voivodship PRON Congress Representatives Selected"]

[Text] Concern about our national existence and survival and pulling the country out of its socioeconomic crisis is the paramount aim that should unite all Poles behind the program of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This has been stressed repeatedly at the voivodship congress of PRON which met on Saturday in Wloclawek. Three hundred and forty-one delegates represented at this forum 148 town, gmina, workplace, and subdivision elements of PRON. There is no local unit in the Wloclawek Voivodship that would not have its representative at the Saturday congress. The programmatic principles of the movement were discussed as well as voivodship authorities of the movement and delegates to the national congress were elected.

Participants of the Saturday debates were: Alfred Beszterda, CK SD presidium member, vice-chairman of the Provisional National Council of PRON; Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Wloclawek; Roman Pstrong, chairman of the WK ZSL; Ryszard Tomczewski, chairman of the WK SD; Henryk Pychynski, chairman of the Voivodship National Council; Wieslaw Czernik, chairman of the Voivodship Circle of the Members of Sejm; Col Sergiusz Cielesz, plenipotentiary of KOK; and Wloclawek governor, Tadeusz Gembicki.

The up to now achievements of the movement for national rebirth and the discussion's conclusions were presented by the chairwoman of the Provisional Provincial Council of PRON, Ewelina Szyszko. The overriding motive of the preconference campaign, she stated, has been discussion of problems that pertain directly to community and workplace issues, or those connected with the special village problems. This can be explained by the concerns of the members of local PRON elements, who have pressed for the recognition of solving the problems that affect directly citizen as issues of prime importance. There are quite a number of significant achievements that can be credited to PRON activists. Movement members in Aleksandrow Kujawski, Radziejow, Lipno or Raciazek are on record as authors of many valuable initiatives. Our most important task at the moment, stated the TRW chairwoman, is to unify the society around our aims. After all, those aims are shared by all Poles, because there is room for everybody in our movement. We also guarantee tolerance and respect without unification of one's views to all.

Describing proposals and comments that were submitted during the discussion, Ewelina Szyszko has underlined the need for an increased participation in the movement of representatives of young generation, enhancing the status of OKONs and a clearer definition of their position. The above problems were also raised during the discussion. Particular attention has been given to the lack of any statements about the significance of the union of workers and peasants in programmatic documents. In view of many delegates it is a matter of fundamental significance. There were quite a few pronouncements concerning PRON's position in the country's sociopolitical structure. It is related

to the new idea of national councils as well as the coming elections. It should be clearly defined, the delegates postulated, what role in defining the election regulation should be played by PRON. It has been unanimously agreed in conclusion that these problems should be decided by the national congress. Many discussants were of the opinion that we should talk today about things that unite us, because this is the only road to national conciliation. Although, this is not an easy matter, that is why all the socioprofessional groups should be reached and not only the support of people for the movement's program should be won but also their faith and confidence in the action of authorities should be strengthened.

At the Saturday congress a 100-member voivodship council of PRON in Wloclawek was elected. In a public vote, Roman Blaszak, a ZSL member, chairman of the gmina cooperative Farmers' Self-Help, was elected chairman. Mandates as permanent representatives of Voivodship Council of PRON in the national governing bodies were entrusted to Ewelina Szyszko, vice-chairwoman of WK SD in Wloclawek, Andrzej Podgorski, a pensioner from Wloclawek, a PZPR member, and Stanislaw Klosowski, a nonparty member, a worker from Wloclawek Celulosa.

In addition 11 delegates to the PRON national congress were elected. They are: Aleksander Senplawki, Polish Army colonel, a PZPR member; Andrzej Podgorski, pensioner, PZPR; Alicja Bienkowska, chairwoman of the ZW LKP, physician, a PZPR member; Zbigniew Pietrzak, deputy director of Transbud Transport Equipment Enterprise for Construction, not a member of party; Zbigniew Mokras, an employee of the Voivodship Chapter of PAX; Ryszard Tomczewski, chairman of the WK SD; Leszek Godlewski, physician, a SD member; Ryszard Ciarkowski, a craftsman from Aleksandrow Kujawski, a SD member; Julian Sosnowski, a farmer from Fabianki gmina, a ZSL member; Antoni Szylkowski, a PZPR member.

Formerly, at the district meetings, 6 delegates to the national congress were elected, and, in addition, delegates' mandates were entrusted to the representatives of voivodship who are members of the Provisional National Council of PRON. Their names were already published in the GAZETA.

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PROVINCIAL SOCIOPOLITICAL AKTIV MEETINGS NOTED

Bialystok Sociopolitical Aktiv Meeting

Bialystok GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Mar 83 pp 1-2

[Article by AW: "More Effort and More Thrifty"]

[Text] The implementation of the government programs to oppose inflation and to work more economically was the topic of a meeting of directors and first secretaries from party organizations and all Bialystok work centers. This meeting took place in the party provincial committee on the 28th and 29th of this month. Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk, the party provincial committee secretary, discussed the province's current socioeconomic situation and the essence of the two programs in his introduction to the proceedings.

Despite the halt in the decline in material production, last year's production is still lower than the 1979 level. The shortage of goods on the market and the simultaneous rise in people's income are deepening the phenomenon of inflation.

Both government programs under discussion have become an integral part of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985 and are aimed at opposing unfavorable phenomena, not by raising prices, but, above all, by way of a more efficient stimulation of market production and services, and also by the thrifty management of every kind of supply. It is necessary to do everything to oppose price increases not based on productivity; it is also very necessary to burden those who seek incomes incommensurably high in relation to their efforts, with the costs of the crisis.

Both in the introduction and discussion, the need was emphasized to analyze the reasons for the negative phenomena, which have occurred in the economy recently. Several local provincial enterprises were referred to, which have incorrectly utilized their production capacities improperly formed basic economic relations.

A number of the enterprises made excessive and unjustified payments to their workforces last year; these payments were not based on an increase in production of worker productivity. The worst instances were in the small cooperative industry. In certain plants, irregularities were uncovered in the

employee structure, (e.g., an increase in the number of nonproduction workers), as well as the overestimation of the costs of their own production and the higher prices charged for the final products.

Both the opportunities and reserves in the plants and the need to utilize them quickly were indicated. Soon, plant managements together with party organizations, workers' councils and professional unions will work out anti-inflation and economization programs for the plants. These programs will be presented to the workforces for examination in April of this year. It was stressed that society could be protected against worsening inflation only by economization and an increase in production.

#### Lower Silesia Aktiv Representatives

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 30 Mar 83 pp 1-2

[Article entitled: "Voices of Representatives From Lower Silesian Workforces"]

[Text] On the eve of the national meeting of the workers' aktiv.

Workers from all the Lower Silesian provinces set out yesterday for Warsaw. They had been invited to today's national meeting of the workers' aktiv by the Politburo of the ZPR Central Committee and the presidium of the government of the Polish People's Republic.

The most numerous group was the 79-man representation from Wroclaw. Within the group were: Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and first secretary of the Wroclaw PZPR Central Committee; Marek Pabian, Marian Kasprzycki and Tadeusz Szczepaniak, all Central Committee members; Marian Mazur, Central Committee secretary; the secretaries of six large plants (the Domel Lower Silesian Electrical Machinery Works, the Pafawag State Railroad Car Factory, the Hydral State Air Works, the Jelcz Auto Works [JZS], the ELWRO Wroclaw Electronic Works and the ROKITA). Workers decidedly made up the majority of the 65 representatives from the plants. They were masters and brigadiers; party and nonparty members; activists from the self-government, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth; and activists from professional unions, inventors and efficiency experts.

The activists have been preparing since Saturday already for the meeting's discussion, the subjects of which will be the socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985 and the government's anti-inflation and economization programs. Some delegates will make written proposals, which were discussed already at the plants; others will be ready to speak about important issues, in their opinion, and still others will expect to obtain, above all, important information. All have come with the hope that the meeting will serve in protecting workers' interests and to help the central authorities to better administer the economy thanks to the direct information provided by the plants.

Jerzy Zalecki, master from the Jelcz Passenger Car Works, wants to speak about the economizing of materials, cite an example from his workplace, where they

are today building agricultural cultivators from used materials and resell parts and materials at a profit. Since this year, the plant also sells its own products without going through the offices of Polmozbyt, something which has allowed a saving of around 200 million zlotys annually. They are also constantly studying how to save foreign-exchange: once every bus required \$19,000 to operate; today, it is only \$1,800 and people are working on reducing that cost to \$1,300.

Krzysztof Kozak from Polar, a nonparty [work] brigade chief, is striving to focus attention on the fact that his plant, despite all production cost increases, wants to keep prices at the current level; meanwhile, the recent decision of the finance minister to increase the number of products, recognized as above standard, fails to meet the goals of Polar. Mr Kozak would also like to gain the cooperation of the central authorities for his firm's plans to equal with this year's production the 1979 level of production, which was the highest in history; to achieve this level, an abundant supply of materials will be indispensable.

Zbigniew Zab, from Olesnice's Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops [ZNTK], works as a cutter and wanted to explain that it is possible to regenerate the matrix and use it repeatedly instead of disarding it after a single use, as has been done in the past. He explained that it is possible to make plowshares from the suspension systems of overhauled wagons. This is exactly what his plant has undertaken.

Above all, Z. Zab wants to see the communications minister in order to explain to him that the plan, made for the plant, needs corrections basically and wants to discuss these corrections with him more precisely.

Wladyslaw Zembolt, from the Mine Construction Enterprise [PBK] in Trzebiec, will present at the meeting material, prepared in writing and worked out by the enterprise's aktiv, where everything was specified, which will show that the plant and its personnel are not being utilized as is required. There is talk therein about the routes to work and about the fact that the brick produced in Trzebiec is transported hundreds of kilometers, while there is a shortage of the same in the local area. He will speak about many other things as well.

Delegate Stefan Herc will talk about the observations of the State Grain Mill in Wroclaw, which were prepared in writing. He asks for the annulment of cereals control, which is already more than enough, and proposes that Polish macaroni, excellent but poorly advertised, be finally sold favorably in western markets.

[Article by set]

Walbrzych Province was represented by 54 members of the workers' aktiv. Half were party members. Miners, metal workers, textile workers, ceramic workers, activists from the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the professional unions and workers self-governments were among them. Men dominated.

A tour car with the meeting's participants left Walbrzych for Warsaw yesterday afternoon. The reporter "GR" noted several opinions:

Danuta Kowalczyk, a nonparty weaver from the Noworudz Nowar,: "There will be talk about economization; I will listen attentively and then I will pass on the most important ideas to our almost 1,300-man workforce. I would myself like to speak at the meeting about our concerns. Nowar requires modernization. Under current conditions, it is difficult to speak about greater production; wages are also low."

Zdzislaw Musial, master from the Pieszych Techno-Tex and party member: "We have many problems; raw materials are lacking. The requirement to economize is very appropriate. I expect that the question of how to manage in this difficult situation will be answered during the meeting. I am also counting on the conversations with my colleagues from other plants during the breaks."

Stanislaw Ziolkowski, nonparty brigade chief from the Klodzko Zetkamy: "I expect that the meeting will confirm my conviction that what was decided will be carried out. I would also want to see a greater interest taken in Klodzko. I know and see how much this town needs."

[Article by bob]

Thirty-four people were invited from Jelena Gora Province. They represent the main sectors and plants of industry, construction, agriculture and transportation. Among the delegates are 8 young workers, 6 masters and brigade chiefs, a PRON activist, 2 workers-activists of workers self-governments, 4 workers-inventors and efficiency experts and 2 directors from the industrial enterprises. Half of these people are party members.

The most represented are the Turow Lignite Mining Firm, the Jelena Gora Polfa Pharmaceutical Complex and the Synthetic Textile Works Chemitex-Celwiskoza, which have 2 representatives each.

Jerzy Golis, first secretary of the party provincial committee, Boguslaw Stepien, Central Committee secretary; and Jerzy Golaczynski, provincial vice-governor, will participate in the meeting.

"I was never at such a meeting", said Elzbieta Mulawka, a knitter from the Legnica Milany and chairperson of the trade union. "I did not prepare any text for myself. Rather, I insisted that precisely in Warsaw and from the mouths of the representatives of the central authorities, I obtain the information, which is of interest to our workforce, on state and social matters. On my return, I will pass it on to Milany's workers."

[Question] What particularly interests your workforce?

[Answer] Recently, there has been a lot of talk about economization. This is one issue; beyond that, we would like to better know how the struggle with speculation is going and what has to be done to make the struggle effective. In our plant, there occurred once the concealment of deficit goods in a



newsstand. These goods were not inspected by the workers. We have since eradicated these procedures. Commerce in town is something else. Speculation is common and the workforces demand that it finally be ended.

We also interviewed Helena Sieczkiewicz, a sorter from Legnica's Hanka. Especially this interview convinced us that newspapers, television and radio do not satisfy completely the expectations of the workforces for information on the most important national problems. According to the opinion of Hanka's representative, meetings and frank conversations with the highest authorities are necessary.

Thirty-four people from the Legnica enterprise left for the meeting; half are party members.

#### Voice of Aktiv Working Poland

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZNY in Polish 31 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Leszek Budnicki: "The Voice of Working Poland"]

[Text] The participants in the national meeting of the workers aktiv discussed yesterday the projected anti-inflation and economization program; they also took a long hard look at the country's economic situation and what had to be done. At the same time, the discussion was specific. During the plenary deliberations, 80 people had something to say, 26 people actually spoke and the rest had their speeches entered into the minutes. Seventy-six people left their speeches with the meeting's secretariat and 197 people submitted over 700 suggestions and proposals. At the same time, during consultation proceedings, discussions between the meeting participants and individual department ministers took place. While these discussions were going on, around 600 people tabled their motions with the departments and sections of the party central committee.

As can be seen, the parameters of this unusually lively and frank discussion were great, but they also presented problems most important for the Polish working class. As was made clear in the discussions, the whole effort to extricate the country out of the crisis, whether one cares to admit or not, will rest on the shoulders of the working class. After all, it is the producer of goods, and production growth has to be the basic element of the nationwide struggle with inflation. Prices are not the issue, but production itself.

Successive representatives of workers' centers spoke of the talks, which preceeded the meeting, in their own plants and presented the first proposals which yielded thousands of tons of saved fuel and the possibility of increasing the production of additional thousands of units, tons and meters of sought after products. In all of the speeches, it was categorically stated that now was high time to act; to put off the decisive actions needed would deepen the crisis and worsen society's living conditions.

The adoption of the anti-inflation and economization program is, however, not free of misgivings. The basic misgiving is the concern of what will happen

once the program is adopted. As Daniela Banachowicz of the Iwona Knitting-Works [ZPDz] in Lodz made clear: too many pertinent and beautiful programs died almost as soon as they were born. Only decision, its consequences and a resolute breakdown of the feeling of inability can suppress distrust afterwards. Why wait for the pressure of public opinion to change incorrect rules?

The conditions of the crisis, the political situation in the world and the resulting economic restrictions, finally the attempts by foreign political opponents to sow confusion force us to implement an economic reform under unusually difficult conditions. Raw materials problems, a shortage in the workforce, the need to modernize quickly aging machinery and tools and, above all, the requirement to satisfy society's most important needs are letting themselves be felt.

Yesterday, miners and dock workers, metallurgists and weavers, and representatives of the machine and chemical industry spoke about these problems and what their work centers had undertaken. They referred to the possibilities in the better organization of effort and efficiency in the economization of every resource which we have.

However, there was also talk about the anxieties which have been caused in workers' centers by the anti-inflation program. People, who are bearing the direct burden of breaking the crisis, spoke of the need of a just distribution of its social costs. It was debated whether the proposed plans for a policy of additional socialized economy, having an instant impact on the workers but not on the private sector for 2 years, will once again facilitate the excessive enrichment of sly dogs, while throwing the entire burden for recovery on the shoulders of people, who in the end do not earn more than those who work in light industry. Krystyna Arkuszynska, from the ZWcH Wistom in Tomaszow-Mazowiecki, strongly emphasized this in her speech.

A demand resulted from this stream of discussion, which referred to the creation in the country of conditions, under which the worker would receive the proper reward for his honest labor. The wage systems, introduced in the factories and mills, require additional improvement and have to adjust to the specifics of a given industry, simultaneously serving growth rate of necessary production.

The need for constant and rapid improvement in the mechanisms of economic reform is also tied to the above. The plans, both anti-inflation and economization, are the sole means which lead to the designated goal. It is now necessary to incorporate them into rules and regulations which permit the complete utilization of both personal initiative and the opportunities inherent in rich economic potential.

Almost in all the speeches, savings in administrative operations costs were mentioned. It was again stated that this is a theme which has not changed in years, and, has not been efficiently solved for years. The next program in this field cannot remain on paper.

Examples were cited of factory associations, transformed into unions, where a minority of the total employed participate directly. As Wacław Malecki from Lublin's Agricultural Machinery Factory [Agromet] announced: "Up until now, we have not succeeded in reducing the administration, inasmuch as such a large organization is needed by it for servicing itself and the outside. If only 9 outside supervisors looked in at the administration structure in 1981, then 27 did so last year."

Stanisława Fatalaska, a textile wrapper from the Żyrardów Factory of Synthetic Fabrics, also spoke of the possibility of an economy bent on cutting costs and a proper wage policy in examples from her own factory. These threads wove themselves into the discussion. In the light of a wage policy, the plan for the tax system and the problem of prices and costs returned. The subject of wages brought about some lively reactions.

It is obvious to everyone that the struggle with inflation cannot be conducted with the aid of prices and wages. There was, however, critical thinking on a number of solutions, presented in the anti-inflation program. Many of them need to be explained and analyzed anew. It is necessary to think about and determine what a luxury is, when it is a luxury and for whom it is a luxury. Whether a luxury is an automatic washing machine, a color television, a vacation, a summer house or a yacht? The determination of proper proportions in these relations is one of the elements creating a system of social justice and encumbering the crisis with costs.

Proposals in the area of housing construction caused the most controversy in the discussion. It was unanimously asserted that the proposed budget for housing will become a barrier for a large segment of the younger generation. Maybe instead of trying to adjust social costs to the level of building costs, it might be worth thinking about the correctness of the former.

Much was said of the role of workforces and their agencies.

Jan Zaranski, from the Nowa Ruda mines, stated: "A serious study of the professional unions lies in our working interest. Even though we have uninteresting experiences from the 1970's and tragic ones from the beginning of the 1980's. After all, a worker without trade unions, well, that is like living in the 18th century. Especially today it is necessary to establish the first achievements of the new professional unions, to include ourselves actively not only in the building thereof, but also in the building of our own tomorrow."

The union and self-government movement should also become a platform from which every worker can be reached with the problem of reform and the anti-inflation and economization program. The point is that each worker should understand them and make them his own tasks. We need to consider not only our wages, but also the social effects of our work. Such action should become the fundamental guarantee of the success of Poland's economic program.

Still another worry. Tadeusz Kurnatowski, from the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops in Bydgoszcz, presented the issue more simply: "We have the

feeling that the central government and proper executors of the economic tasks are actually behind the changes. The method has not yet, however, been decided. This still has to be done. Practice shows that the administration moved effectively only when it was pushed. And isn't this the way difficult problems are solved in the factories today? Among other things, because of the sluggishness of managing resources, laws for programs and resolutions are born with delay and are frequently imprecise. A clear definition of the tasks of party organizations has to be postulated to solve the problems connected to the anti-inflation program and economic plan."

These fundamental problems, based on specific examples and phenomena evident in our economy, were brought up throughout the entire discussion. Inflation has to be opposed intensively; however, people must also be protected from difficult material conditions. Precisely for this reason, it is necessary to analyze the elements of the anti-inflation program, even if only for reimbursement for living in sanatoriums and for medicines, the size of housing funds and many other things.

As first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, premier and general of the army, Wojciech Jaruzelski, assured us at the close of the discussion, the unusually excellent proposals from this discussion will be subjected to particular analysis and their authors will be informed of the decisions made. This discussion also affirmed that the appeal of the party and government to the collective wisdom of the working class will permit an acceleration of the pace set to extricate us from this crisis. It also affirmed that the economic front becomes our whole country today; equally, it also becomes the front of the political struggle with the opponents of our system. At the same time, however, the party, in serving the people and leading them on the road to socialism, is, and remains a workers' party. The formation of a new economic thinking is a long and difficult process; it requires the involvement of the whole of society. Yesterday's discussion confirmed these hopes completely.

#### Rzeszow Region Aktiv Representatives

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 31 Mar 83 pp 1-2

[Article: "Who Represented Our Region?"]

[Text] Numerous workers' representatives, from our region's enterprises and some cooperatives, participated at yesterday's meeting of the workers' aktiv, which was dedicated to the current economic situation in the country and to the implementation of the economization and anti-inflation programs. A decisive majority was made up by workers and people directly employed in either production or its preparation. Activists from the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, labor self-governments and the Polish Socialist Youth Movement were among them. Party membership was also strongly represented, but around 40 percent of our region's representatives in the Congress Hall was made up of nonparty people. Among the delegates from the individual provinces were also members of the leadership of provincial party organizations with their first secretaries and secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee. Provincial governors were also there.

Within the 39-man delegation from Rzeszow Province to the Warsaw meeting, the largest group (6 people) was made up by workers from the Mielec Transportation Plant [WSK] and County Communications Administration [PZL], among whom was a member of the Central Committee, Boleslaw Jaremkiewicz. Four people represented the Rzeszow WSK PZL and the Wezel Polish State Railroads [PKP], the Lancuck Bolt and Screw Factory and the chemical plant Organika-Sarzyna had two representatives each. Moreover, the following organizations had their own delegates in the Congress Hall: the Automobile Repair Works and the Zapel Electronics Industry Association [ZPE] from Bogluchwala, the Rzeszow Furniture Factories and the Filter Production Works from Sedziszow Mlp, the Vistula Clothing Plants [ZPO] and Machine Factories from Lezajsk, the Magnesite Plants in Ropczyce, the Respan Footwear Factory and Prefat in Kolbuszowa, the Rokšana Invalids Confectionery Cooperative and RzFM Works in Strzyzow, the Rakszaw Factories and the Unitra-Eltra Radio Works, the Fruktopol Industrial-Agricultural Combine, the Polish Motor Transport, the District Enterprise of the Meat Industry and the Rzeszow Construction Combine.

Making up the Krosnien delegation at the all-Polish meeting were 21 workers from 11 industrial plants in the Sub-Carpathian region: the Autosan Sanok Bus Factory, the Krosnien Glass Works, Gamrat-Erg Art Productions in Jasle, the Sub-Carpathian Refinery in Jasle, the Jasle Records Works, the Polmo Shock-Absorber Factories in Krosnien, the Krosnolen Flax Works in Krosnien, the Mining, Oil and Gas Works in Krosnien, the WSK in Krosnien, the Sanok Construction Enterprise and the Stomil Rubber Industry Works in Sanok.

Among the workers were, among others, activists from the professional unions, working self-governments, masters and brigadiers, innovators and inventors. Forty percent of the group were young workers under 30 years of age.

Kazimierz Szepak, both a Central Committee member and a worker from the Krosnien Mining, Oil and Gas Works, was also among the delegation.

The province of Przemysl was represented at the national meeting of the aktiv in Warsaw by 16 workers. They represented the workforces of: the Jarlan Knitting-Works, the Jaroslaw Glass Works, the Meat Factories in Jaroslaw, the DRKP in Przemysl, the Mera-Polna Computer Works, the Felt Insulation Works, the Przemysl Construction Enterprise, the State Farms [PGR] Medical Clinic, the State (Agricultural) Machine Station in Radym, the Vistula Clothing Industry Works, the Przeworsk Confectionery, the Fermstal Enterprise for Steel Structures and Assembly in Agricultural Construction in Dynowa, the Spomasz Food Industry and Equipment Factory in Kanczuka, the HSM Construction Machinery Plant in Lubaczowa and the Facncy Products Works in Lubaczowa.

Twenty-eight workers from the Tarnobrzeg province participated in the national meeting of the workers' aktiv. They represented the Steel Will Works (among the delegates of this combine was Jozef Dul, a Central Committee member), the Mines and Processing Plants in Tarnobrzeg, the Sandomierz Window Glass Works, the Table Procelain Works in Cmielowa, the Wolczanka Clothing Industry Plant in Opatow, the Tarnobrzeg Machine Tool Factory, the Polaniec and Steel Will

Electrical Works, the Dwikozy Fruit and Vegetable Industry Works, the Metal Works in Nowa Daba, the Construction Industry Tarnobrzeg Enterprise, the Grzybow Sulfur Mine, the Nimet Metal Works in Nisk, the Gorzyce WSK, the Wikplast-las in Rudnik, the Nisk Meat Works, the Curtains Factory in Skopan and the Ozarow Cement Mill.

#### Effects of National Aktiv Meeting

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 1 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by M. Chodynietka: "After National Meetings of Workers' Aktiv"]

[Text] "We need to fight for mutual trust", said one of the participants of the national meeting of the workers' aktiv, held the day before yesterday. His statement also made reference to this meeting, which, in his opinion, would be a test of this fight. Was it a successful test? In my opinion: yes. Smooth words were not heard from the tribunal, both opposing sides, representatives of the workforces and authorities, addressed each other with a mass of critical observations. The dialogue, sometimes very bitter and even angry, cleared the atmosphere a bit, however, and perhaps increased this mutual trust. And we really need this trust today. Work is finished on the 3-Year National Socioeconomic Plan. The implementation of this plan will require, without elaborating, a policy of belt-tightening. The most general trust must exist outright, so that no one will want to lie to anyone, so that there will simply be no escape from these of any other repudiations.

The represenatives from the individual workers' centers generally expressed their agreement with these reprimands. Someone in the hall said: "People want precisely that which is written in the government's anti-inflation and economization program." Someone else affirmed: "We want to be thrifty and economical, just like in our own homes." And, finally, a third person said: "How on earth could we workers not support these programs, when in the final analysis they are opposite our working interests and when the results of any kind of uneconomical management affects us above all..." However, other words accompanied all sttements of this kind, such as those which expressed anxiety and doubt, even if inspired by the form of individual solutions.

Doubts were also awakened by the question whether results in the execution of program decisions will be enough at all levels and work centers, from the ministry to the factory. Hopefully, this program will not go the way other programs have gone, remaining only scribble on paper and nothing more. The doubt was also expressed that despite the efforts and rare self-sacrifice which the workforce and all society will put into an efficient and effective economy, someone may come along and ruin everything again. For this reason as someone also stated from the tribunal, not only must we work out the difficult lesson together, but at the same time, we should control ourselves in this situation. Beyond this, we need to be concerned that our thrift and efficiency are worth the effort and that our chosen course of action is the best, since, as was suggested, some of these frugal solutions could be more hardships than advantages. To illustrate this conclusion, an example was cited of leveling taxes on work premiums. The amount of free income from these taxes was

decidedly set too low. The result: the incentive function of work premiums was killed.

Premiums, wages and the people's income, as well as burdening them within the anti-inflation program or with taxes, were all topics touched upon most at the meeting. There were also subjects that had to do with public fairness and the just burdening of all the people and social groups with the costs of the crisis. Only certain measures go wrong, e.g., balancing fairness. Sometimes, requirements are advanced which are mutually exclusive. For example, state interference in the economy.... After all, it is not possible to allow for all enterprises to work independently and then, at the same time, conclude that some of these same enterprises remain strapped in the old system of directives from above. The discussion had such instances when such contradictory disproportions were pointed out.

Despite everything, however, the discussion was a versatile and very real dialogue. During the breaks in the proceedings, it was equally so since it was possible to come face to face with the ministers and get their feelings on the subjects and even quarrel with them. Brought up in these informal discussions on the new economization programs was the clear order to use secondary resources, waste paper, bottles, etc. Such practices are not observed today because not much is sold, while their purchase is limited practically everywhere. How can there not be doubts or concerns, as we have already mentioned, and no faith in our next programs, when these events are constantly occurring?

The activities of the workers' representatives provoked much thought, and not just during the breaks. It was obvious that these representatives of the workforces had prepared themselves for this meeting very carefully, that they really did have a lot to say to the authorities. Even in the activity during the discussion breaks, it was evident that much coordination was binding the representatives together. During the plenary discussion, someone was always emphasizing on behalf of his workforce this or that view, on this or that issue. Even the type of report included something on behalf of the workforces. The reports referred to specific moves, already undertaken to make the enterprises' management more efficient; they also referred to intentions and plans, which were being born in this area. After all, that which is proposed at "the top," had its effects at "the bottom." Approbation for the difficult roads, directions and economic conceptions had been already expressed--even if with anxiety and corrections--not only in verbal declarations, but also in actions. One of the reports, about which we are talking and which was made during the plenary discussions, was prepared by a worker of the Swierzew Mills in Zawada. He was a member of the large delegation from the province of Opol.

## Interview of National Aktiv Meeting Delegate

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 5 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Daniela Banachowicz of the Iwona Knitwear Goods Plant [ZPDz] in Lodz: "Is There Nothing for 'Inability'?"]

[Text] Comrade Obodowski stated in his speech to the Sejm that: "The government does not want and cannot unilaterally, without society's participation, decide what actions need to be taken, in order that we all together and each of us individually achieve more, that all of society needs to take on the burden of joint responsibility for our further progress." He further said that it will be possible if this sense of numbness and hopelessness on the part of society can be broken, if society can be convinced of the reality of the government's intention.

There is no doubt that all of society needs to take on the joint responsibility for our further progress, but only the consistent and objective actions and clear and tangible results can convince it of the reality of the government's intentions.

Above all, we must think about and discover where does this feeling of numbness and hopelessness come from? What is behind it? How is it that on the one side we have excellent rules and resolutions, and on the other side we have the worker in his workplace, while in the center there is a general emptiness which causes disbelief in the reality of government programs? How many plans, programs and regulations have already been discarded along the way? How many were finished already at the time they were born? How are we to delight the worker when we constantly hear on the television and the radio about the impossibility of simplifying some issue or solving some problem because there is either a rule, and it does not permit, or there is no rule and it is impossible to simplify a situation? The minister cannot, the president cannot, the boss, chairman and director cannot, the teacher and militia man cannot, the judge and many others cannot.

Who on earth and what in our country can? By any chance are inefficiency, ill-will and, perhaps, sometimes the purposefulness of those who can and should, but "cannot", hiding behind a screen of regulations?

Is there really no way around this "inability"?

If there are certain instances where life verifies certain rules, then why not change them at the appropriate moment if they are not working? Is it always necessary to wait and then change them only under the pressure of public opinion?

The next issue: associations have been eliminated because of the reform. But what is happening? The Lodz press has informed us that 16 associations have been eliminated but that 23 federations remain, with a small number of employees. For the worker, there is no basic difference between an association and a federation; all the more that up until this time, no tangible advantages



can be seen by belonging to the federations. Perhaps the time has come to make sure we know what federations do and what maintains them?

Or there is a shortage of labor in industrial direct production; in my enterprise, there are machines standing idle.

An error has been committed (incidentally, we do not know if someone out of fairness has suffered the consequences); people have left for early retirement and pensions. It is known that several tens of thousands of young people have emmigrated or have remained abroad. Why, in such a situation, has permission been granted and continues to be granted to open different pseudotrader plants, private and agency stores, or the purchase and sales type (as if there were no commission sales). Many young people are leaving industry for these pseudotrader producers. To make this matter more interesting, the owners of these units do not pay taxes in the first years of operation, after which they change their makeup and the process begins anew. On the other hand, taxes are planned for the workers' premiums in the state enterprises, to the irritation of the people, at a sum of 10,000 zlotys. How and with what can we be motivated to work more productively and economically? Should we exert more effort in order to pay in taxes what we have earned through our labor? Yes, there should be a tax, but not at those centers where the question of production quantity and quality is ongoing in this current situation.

There are many other sources, which have been mentioned in the program, and there are many people, who have incomes from unknown and unidentified sources, which exceed by many times the average national wage. Let those pay, for whom it does not pay to work in the socialized sector. Let those pay the highest taxes, who satisfy their every whim at the expense of the good work of the worker's hands.

There is also one more issue here, far more important than money: the consciousness which forms in growing children and young people. Cheats and swindlers are becoming the examples and models to follow, because they can get everything quickly. Compared to this is the honest and good worker, who works for his daily needs without the chances that he will improve his situation; he is not the model to follow. A very dangerous bacillus has been injected into our young people. We must begin to oppose it now, before it is too late.

For several days now, we have been listening with concern to news that in the 2nd and 3rd quarters, there will be a shortage of raw materials for the metallurgical industry. I ask the responsible minister: Is this true? Dispell our uncertainties so that we can work peacefully. After all, a shortage of raw materials at this time will not only mean a shortage of goods on the counter, but also the deprivation of workers' premiums. It would be not only an economic calamity, but also a catastrophe for workers' families. That is a danger we must not permit under any circumstances.

There is a lot of bitterness in what I have just said; there is also anxiety, but I say this, concerned about our common good and concerned about correcting what is wrong. In the end, people want to work well and productively. I can

confirm this on the basis of conversations with my fellow colleagues at work, at home and with friends from other plants.

We want to work well and economically, as if in our own home, because that is how we understand our participation in returning balance and in combating inflation. But we also expect that the program against inflation and the burden of the crisis will be spread fairly, proportionally, according to the abilities of individual social groups, that they will not be placed on the shoulders of the workers.

We see that in almost every enterprise, there is much to do and for this reason, we recognize that inflation cannot be fought by constantly raising prices. There are other ways, and this appeals to us. Each of us should not only want improvement, he should also work for it.

In the current national situation, every small savings counts double. I think that good experiences should be disseminated and shared among the plants. There is a large area to look at, even if labor-saving and innovative proposals have been successful and put into practice. Let us help each other; this is not the time for a plant to hold secrets. I submit an incentive for others; the innovators from my plant have worked out a method of producing cardboards perforated for the reproduction of patterns on our knitting-machines. These cardboards are made of Polish materials. The Jarlan Knitting Works are already using our idea; maybe other plants are interested in this problem; we will gladly pass on our experiences, perhaps, they also have solutions, which will be useful to us or to others. Every economizing method is good, all the more so, if it satisfies us in the form of nondependence on the foreign producer.

There are projects, which are being discussed with us today, final decisions will be made, but for them to work, it has to also be worked out how they will be implemented and made to work at all levels--from the very beginning. I would say that we need to do it as if for our own homes; indeed, it is being done for the fatherland. We have a very difficult lesson to work out; someone has to determine how we will do it so that the results are good. Let the written words be turned into deeds. We must not forget that we are a state where the authorities are the working class itself and that this class is having a hard time. The time has come, however, to change this situation. Working people know their obligations, but they also know their own worth and want to be appreciated. They want to have a real say in governing the country and also the conviction that power in the country is based on their workers' class and that it serves that class's interests. When this is so, every program will be credible and will find their willing support.

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RADOM PARTY PLENUM ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK REPORTED

Kielce SLOWO LUDO in Polish 6 May 83 pp 1-3, 8

[Text] Party Ideological Work Determines Socialist Awareness

Politburo members--Central Committee [CC] secretary, Jozef Czyrek and Zofia Grzyb--participated in the PZPR provincial committee [KW] plenum.

A plenary session of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR took place yesterday in Radom.

An especially fundamental issue in party activity was discussed: "The ideological-political tasks of strengthening PZPR basic elements."

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and CC secretary, and Zofia Grzyb, also a Politburo member, and comrades, representing provincial echelons among the party central authorities, arrived at the deliberations.

Besides the KW members and their deputies in the hall, members of the Provincial Audit Commission's Presidium and the party Provincial Control Commission, members of the KW Ideological Commission, directors of the regional centers of party work, the first secretaries of city and city-rural committees and the first secretaries from the largest factories also entered the hall.

Also in attendance: Tadeusz Zareba, the deputy of the director of the CC Foreign Section; Col Edward Jedruszewski, the People's Provincial Council's chairman; Col Alojzy Wojciechowski, the Radom Province military governor; Col Zygmunt Kosmala, chief of the Provincial Military Headquarters [WSzW]; and Col Henryk Walczynski, commandant of the provincial Civil Militia.

KW first secretary, Bogdan Prus, who chaired the plenum, made these several remarks while opening the plenum:

"During the provincial programs conference, attention was often focused on the need to improve ideological work, especially in the party's basic elements. For this reason, we are also making this subject a part of this provincial committee forum. We do well to report how important the consolidation of party unity, the effectiveness of her work and the extension of the political effect are today. Hence, the concern about spreading party information, about her

rules and regulations, and the various complicated social, economic and international problems is necessary."

KW secretary Danuta Grabowska delivered the KW executive board report.

Sixteen comrades shared their opinions in the discussion. J. Czyrek also took the opportunity to speak.

#### Discussion of Jozef Czyrek's Speech

It is a good thing that the Radom party provincial organization decided to examine the ideological problems in our party at a KW plenary session. After having broken through the first barrier in our crisis, ideological problems will be moving into the forefront with ever increasing strength. At the same time, without a restoration of socialist awareness and ideological motivation throughout the party, we will not break the social and economic crisis. Basically, we have to master the methods of steering marxist-leninist processes in a more effective way.

In order to develop the proper program at every stage of sociopolitical life, we have to properly appreciate it. Unfortunately, we did not do this in the 1970's. We were building a society of advanced socialism without regarding the ideological enemy, losing control, etc. Above all, we have to correctly appreciate the current stage at the CC's 12th plenum. As before, there is no doubt that we are building socialism. This is difficult to do if we consider the activities of the internal enemy and the current international situation.

The stage of rescuing the nation is already behind us. We are now in the phase of the rebirth of party strength and socialist society. Particular tasks in this regard fall onto the ideological front. This front should really lay the foundation for the next, decisive stage of state development. This state should be initiated by the 10th Party Congress.

The Politburo has decided to discuss the problems of ideological work at the next session of the Central Committee. At the next session, above all, we will work on political issues and conditions. We will discuss the trends in our activities for the future and the entire strategy associated with it at the end of June, July, or, maybe, at the beginning of August. The second plenum will be a party rehearsal for the PZPR national conference. It will also be the party's preparation stage for elections to the people's councils.

The enemy's attacks continue to concentrate on the idea that socialism cannot be reformed and on the impairment of the working class' role in our state and party as the political organizer in the building of socialism. Our enemies are voicing the concept of political pluralism and are undermining the principle of socialist unity. There are again lessons for us to learn from these attacks: as before, we must stubbornly define what is socialism and emphasize the humanitarian values of this system.

The enemy already knows that it has next to no chances. For this reason, he also wants to force us from the political path of the 9th Party Congress and

from the platform of understanding and to political pluralism. This, however, he will not do.

We shall decisively fight against the enemy in practice and broaden our political understanding. We figure that, despite various disappointments and the loss of trust, changes, preferring such an idea, are currently making their way into society.

Referring to state-Church relations inter alia, J. Czyrek affirmed:

"The enemy is trying to bring the Church and its hierarchy into confrontation with the socialist state. Up to the present, the Church has not been pushed unto this course. Dialogue between the state and the Church continues to be based on understanding."

Speaking on international matters, the CC secretary stated:

"Ronald Reagan's current policies are not the result of only his convictions. Other 'believers' in the U.S. have also concluded that what was earlier, was in the vital interests of the United States; hence, the current trend towards confrontation on the military and economic levels. The situation in Poland is being utilized in this struggle. Western radio stations compete with one another in their nondoctrinal, misleading and often banal information about our country. They do this from the FRG, where the revisionist nationalist movement makes itself exceptionally felt."

In closing his speech, J. Czyrek recalled the words of the Central Committee's first secretary, Gen W. Jaruzelski:

"The party is the same, but not quite the same: This means that we have to better combine our progress forward with our service role towards society. We have to be a party, sensitive to every evil. Only then will the party regain her credibility."

The PZPR's reports and elections campaign proved that the party's main problems have been overcome. We are aware that there remains splinters at the so-called fringes here and there. It is most essential that we overcome the crisis of the party's center. Many people indicate that we already have the strength and the opportunity to guarantee the implementation of our programs.

Andrzej Pierzchala, chairman of the resolutions commission, presented the projected document. The resolution was adopted after the consideration of one point.

B. Prus stated at the end: "Materials, presented at the plenum, as well as the discussion confirmed that there are more and more positive aspects in our propaganda activity. There are also, however, weak points which need to be eliminated. We regard these proceedings as a contribution on the part of the Radom provincial organization in the Central Committee's planned 12th plenary session. Of course, we have totally to implement the resolutions of the 9th Party Congress every single day. To do this, we need the indispensable

involvement of all party members and even nonmembers. And this is what is happening. We have more and more allies and I am thinking about the activists from the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and the new professional trade unions. This was first proved in the impressive demonstration on May Day."

The plenum observed a minute of silence in memory of Edward Watroby, a meritorious party and social activist and KW deputy member, who died several days before.

At her request, the plenum relieved KW deputy member Ewa Kazimierska from Grojec of her duties. The plenum also approved the request of Julian Orlinski to discharge him from his duties as director of the ROPP in Kosien (he will shortly retire) and replaced him with comrade Roman Wysocki, up until now, the UG chief in Magnuszew.

Personnel changes were also made in the makeup of the KW commission. The plenum ended with a singing of the "Internationale."

Meeting of J. Czyrek and Z. Grzyb in Radom Engineering College [WSI]

Yesterday afternoon, shortly after the conclusion of the party KW plenary deliberations in Radom, Politburo member and CC secretary Jozef Czyrek and Politburo member Zofia Grzyb met with the directors and students of the city's Kazimierz Pulaski Engineering College. After a presentation of the current national situation, opinions on difficult subjects were exchanged. Many issues referred to the academic center and the further development of Radom College.

The directors of the provincial and municipal party administration authorities also participated in the meeting, which was conducted by the first secretary of the WSI College Committee, Wojciech Czerwiec.

Plenary Deliberations of PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Radom

Consolidation and Ideological Strengthening of the Party

A discussion of the report of the PZPR KW executive board in Radom, which was presented by the KW secretary Danuta Grabowska:

At today's plenum we hope to find the answers to two questions: What the course has been of the consolidation process and ideological strengthening of the Radom party organization since the 9th Party Congress, and to what degree, against a backdrop of raging political struggle, the effectiveness of influencing our basic elements in shaping the political climate and stabilization process in the region were corrected.

We have survived an especially difficult period from the 9th Party Congress to the 13th of December, 1981. Behind us we have more than a year of effort and activity under the unique conditions of martial law. Very recently, we summarized the course and achievements of the party's reports and program campaign. We are on the eve of important national events: The Congress of the

Patriotic Movement of the National Rebirth and the Central Committee plenary session on the subject of party ideological activity.

We are a party of the leninist mold; at least, we want to be such a party, a voluntary union of people, who carry on their shoulders the responsibility for the present and future of our society. We have a program, resolved at the 9th Party Congress, which shows us how to extricate ourselves from this economic and sociopolitical crisis. The political enemy, who did not have a constructive alternative to the party's propositions, was only able to speak out with a totally demagogic negation of those proposals, as well as of the party's historical achievements. Somehow, if we were to regard the issue, however, the resistance of our comrades and our basic party elements have not been commensurate to the requirements. So it would seem.

There are 38,000 PZPR members and candidates active in 1733 basic organizations. PZPR members work in almost all factories and institutes as well as in the majority of rural regions. In the end, this is a large group of advocates for socialism. There are, however, reasons why a significantly positive statement cannot be made: the uneven distribution of party strength in individual centers, the unutilized socioprofessional composition of the provincial party organization (48 percent intellectuals, 33 percent workers and 17 percent farmers); the relatively large number of organizations--of the 1733 basic party organizations, as many as 1174 organizations have only up to 15 members and candidates each. In rural areas, the number of such organizations is more than 900.

The proposal, however, moves forward: the ideological and organizational strengthening of the basic party organizations. Have we created the mechanisms which facilitate this realization? Yes, we have. The program of the 9th Party Congress, acknowledged by allied parties, despite the activities of antisocialist forces in the country and abroad, is gaining more and more social support.

We have comrades in high political positions, who were elected in a thoroughly democratic manner, people, who were recommended by the party's rank and file, and have the trust of those who elected them. This is surely a guarantee for a bolder than we have seen grappling by them of the problems and initiatives, which should arise to meet the social problems originating at the center.

New program and organizational principles were introduced in the party's schooling efforts 3 years ago; the highest priority was given to the universal schooling of the basic elements.

Ideological party meetings became the acknowledged method. However, recent results in many organizations deviate seriously from the program principles. The centrally determined subject is either not introduced or is pushed by the lively discussion of everyday difficulties.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, in analyzing ideological work in the party, acknowledged universal party training as especially important. The level of training depends on the discipline and participation of the

members of the basic party elements and the preparation of the instructors by the region's party work centers. It was affirmed that the ideological meetings require the most careful preparations: theoretical subjects need to be made flexible and understandable and tied to actual social realities.

Socialist ideology and marxism-leninism are not, and cannot be dogmatic. Marxism is a method of evaluating and changing reality. Ideology needs to be developed based on our conditions and in the interest of our society. That, which is socialist, must be better in practical applications, in daily work and in socioprofessional activity in order to be successful.

The majority of the province's production plants are achieving better and better results. We note that the tendencies for growth in production are still maintained; the basic economic relations are being improved upon. To all, who are contributing to these results, we express our heartfelt thanks and we regard their work and efforts with great respect. Beyond a doubt, party members also have participated in this success.

We should execute the tasks of the 3-year plan with the least expenditure of materials and resources. We are implementing a 3-year economic plan and the plan for economization and the fight against inflation. Party members need to be not only the plans' proponents, but also their organizers. The thrifth and efficient management of resources is tied to the expert utilization of machines and tools, and the economization of energy and fuel. We must also always move towards improving working conditions and work's proper organization, and guarantee the fair appreciation of people.

It is necessary to create better and better conditions for the farmers. This touches upon a whole sphere of services for farming and the improvement of activities through the rural element of the state administration. In the institutions, working for agriculture, rural cooperatives, cooperatives of farm circles and state centers of machinery and appliances, we have the significantly largest party organizations of the entire rural sectors. The struggle to reduce the costs and prices for farm services, the elimination of bureaucratic red tape, the strengthening of rural self-government and the clear criteria in the division of production funds and other material acquisitions are an especially important subject for them.

The correct path, which needs to be continued in the activity of rural basic party organizations, is the inspiration and personal participation of party members in the reconstruction of the centers of sociocultural life. Party members, who are recruited from rural circles of the intelligentsia, have a special role to play in this area. Their ideological-political attitude contributes to the formation of social factors for the benefit of their centers. An example of such work is the basic party organization in Kamienna Wola (community of Gowarczow), Swidno (community of Mogielniec), Pajakow and Zalaze (community of Przyleka). In stepping up the sociopolitical life in rural communities, we ought to develop more than before the cooperation between the PZPR and the United Peasants' Party's rural organization.



The production organizers for achieving specific results regard, above all, raw materials, technological and organizational problems; to a lesser degree, they look at the social costs which have to be borne if these results are to be realized. The optimizing of economic results and social effects is becoming, and should become, the center of interest for the newly born professional movement.

One of the ways the party leads is her influencing of the intervention by her members into the work of agencies, especially in the people's councils, the exercise of control functions by eligible agencies over executive agencies. Party members ought to inspire a more effective solution to important socioeconomic problems, the elimination of the sources of social discontent and the development of cooperation between the people's councils and the local PRON elements, social organizations and the self-governing elements in order to increase their participation in joint control, at the time they are stimulating civilian activity.

The work of people's councils evokes reservations--the lack of a system for the convention of sessions or commission meetings, the low attendance at the proceedings and the weak activism of the councils themselves. In the recent times of disturbance, the number of council meetings with constituencies is growing smaller.

Almost the day before the First PRON Congress, we deliberated the determinations and decisions, which will have a decisive influence on the shaping of political life in our country and on the system of how the authorities behave in Poland. The PZPR has the obligation to assist the further development and strengthening of the movement, to give it a political tone and to actively cooperate in searching for a program and ways of effective action.

The basic party elements in scientific, educational and cultural centers should play a fundamental role in the shaping of social awareness. As before, these centers are the foundation for complicated social processes, even if the political stabilization of these groups is slow, but systematic in our province.

The PZPR Education Committee in the Engineering College, as well as the departmental organizations are consistently pursuing the consolidation of the academic center jointly with the party leadership. They are concentrating their efforts on raising the level of instructional-educational work. They are also concerned about the successful recruitment of students for the new academic year and with the progress of teaching cadre through their independent scientific works. Before the PZPR school organizations is also the incomparably important task of creating the proper climate around a new, i.e., reactivated socioprofessional organization like the Association of Polish Students and the ideological-political organizations, the Polish Socialist Youth Movement, the Rural Youth or the Polish Scouts Union.

More than 160 basic party organizations are active in the province's educational institutions. A single Institutional Committee on Education in Radom includes 55 basic party organizations in its activities. Despite the ongoing stabilization process, one must consider the threats arising from the influence of the political opposition, especially the ideological diversion from abroad. There is definitely a need for the expansion of intensive ideological and political work by party organizations and echelons.

Nine basic party organizations were active in cultural centers of Radom and the province. They were the rallying point for more than 100 members. Five organizations unite party members in the cultural establishments of Szydlowiec, Ilza, Lipsk, Zwolenie and Grojec. Recently, their great revival was observed.

The August 1980 events and the fierce attack by political opponents clearly showed that our party was not ready to conduct extensive intelligent agitation or a political fight. This opinion was confirmed during the party's reports and Elections Conference. Then, a number of critical observations was advanced which referred to the operation of the information/propaganda system of the party provincial organization. All of these observations, along with numerous proposals of specific solutions, were reflected upon at the provincial conference. Two basic goals are realized within the new principles program: the shaping of pro socialist attitudes and the sociopsychological isolation of the political enemy.

We are convinced that the most precise knowledge of what is going on around us is the best argument; it contributes to the fundamental factors of normalization and stabilization with the province.

Political action has to take into account the moods and social reaction to various phenomena and decisions. Hence, the importance of listening to public opinion. Keeping this in mind, we are appointing a Research Group for Party Opinion with the PZRP Provincial Committee. Mass media also play a significant role in the complete effort of spreading information and propaganda. Their role and appreciation were formulated more than once from this tribunal. Today it is enough to stress their ever greater significance in the political education of our citizens.

Last year saw the gradual revival of the party. The discussion, which was raised by every party organization and echelon on the proposed ideological-propaganda declaration, asked the question of party members: What should the role of the party be in the new situation? A continuing exchange of opinions gradually strengthens the ideological unity of the party rank and file and brings our values and views closer to the whole of society.

#### Discussion

Stanislaw Gasior, plant committee [KZ] secretary in the General Waltera Metal Works

The resolutions of Central Committee plenums have placed the responsibility for the introduction of economic reform on factory party organizations. These are

tasks which, above all, aim at changing the existing thinking patterns of all party members and workers. Ignorance, conservatism, and personal profit are the chief enemies of reform. Existing habits and management patterns, shaped by the orders system, are shortcomings in the introduction of reform. The party bears the burden of really breaking these barriers; she must also disseminate the principles of reform. For this reason, our party organization was a leader in the training of this great venture, which included not just party members. Reform was the topic at open party meetings. The question, however, arises: What was the result of this training? It has to be said that a series of theoretical lectures is not going to change the awareness of the people. That is a long process; it requires time, patience and consistency in action.

In the meantime, it can be seen that the ministries are aiming at restoring the orders system and curtailing the independent action of both the self-governments and the enterprises. Certain economic activists are trying to compromise the idea of reform and place the negative results solely on the shoulders of the enterprises.

Daniel Drab, a teacher from Elementary School No 2 in Przysusz:

I work in Przysusz, but I live in the village of Wieniawa, where I belong to the local basic party organization [POP]. For many years, I have had charge over many party organizations, first in Kludno and then in Kamien. Hence, I often thought about the causes of weakness in rural POPs. One of the causes is the chance selection of party candidates. Much, however, really depends on assistance, direct conversations and visits by the comrades from higher echelons. I have spent a great deal of time with the members of the organizations under my care; we have discussed much. The organization in Kludno, recently left without guidance, has "scattered to the winds."

The division of the party into "workers" and "intellectuals" also bothers me. After all, the most important thing is what usefulness and results any given job brings. As the party, we cannot create pretty slogans and myths. Socialism needs to be strengthened and developed through practical actions.

Barbara Maj, provincial administration secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture [TKKS] in Radom:

Besides the socioeconomic factors, which influence the shaping of people's attitudes, activism and involvement--the basic ones are those which are directly tied with education, science and persuasion. Indeed, with the formation of a philosophy for life, the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture concerns itself especially with one of these important socioeconomic factors. The activities of this organization have recently run into various problems for various reasons. One of them is the lack of tolerance in school. The time has now come for young people to study humanism, secularism and rationalism. They need to see the natural bond between the scientific explanation of the world and socialist ideas, and their own life styles. We need to help young people find their own way, wisely, genuinely, indicating to them the highest ideological and educational values.

We are employing people to lecture who come from different philosophies: believers and nonbelievers. There are also believers among our teachers, the majority of whom are members of the TKKS. The main point is that we have teachers who speak of values common to us, like patriotism, proletarian internationalism, socialist morality and productive effort. That is, values which are a source of progress.

Tadeusz Krzos, a labor union local [Z0Z] official in Lipsk and an activist in the rural self-government:

One of the most important features of the cooperative movement is self-government. In recent years, however, this self-government has been awkward and, most often, distorted. This led to a fiction of self-government. Party members today face the task of having to restore genuine rural government. Moreover, without it, we will not solve our problems in agriculture, especially those concerning an increase in food production. But all this presupposes a quick end to the crisis.

In this situation, we must begin with a systematic training of those in rural self-government. The support of the rural organizations of the PZPR and the United Peasants' Party is also necessary in this venture. What concerns me is that too few young people are involving themselves in the work of rural organizations, even though they are comanagers in rural affairs.

Jan Solski, a factory committee secretary in the Pronit Plastics and Paint Factory in Pionki:

A quick reactivation of working self-governments in the factories is a stipulation for the success of economic reform. From this point of view, the concept of self-government needs to be popularized and explained by party organizations.

The basic party organizations and district party organizations, which are working for self-government, should direct their efforts towards creating those conditions which will facilitate the competent reconciliation of the worker's needs and expectations with general social interests. The party, in attempting to maintain her authority and freedom of action, must always have her own position vis-a-vis the most important issues of the workforce; e.g., vis-a-vis the prices of produced goods, wages, etc. In cooperating with self-government, the party should concern itself with maintaining the democratic character of this social agency and the competent solution of the various conflicts which arise among the workforce.

The reactivation of working self-government is currently ongoing in the Pronit factory.

Wieslaw Zwolinski, chairman of the OKON municipal-rural council in Ilza:

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is becoming a social movement for people seeking understanding and order in the country. An explanation of the

goals of this movement is necessary, inasmuch as their unfamiliarity or limited understanding leads to mistrust or ill-will. An explanation of the party's role and tasks in the rebirth movement should especially be a goal.

There is often talk in reference to the cooperation between PRON elements and the party about a policy of compromise; in the meantime, conditions for compromise should not be created, but the basis for dialogue should. The party cannot free itself from its leading role.

We are building up the authority of PRON through practical efforts for the benefit of the people. These efforts, however, should touch upon important problems and not on trivial matters. More attention should be focused on the causes and not on the results of irregularities.

After the PRON congress, the party's urgent task needs to be the conduct of meetings where not only the movement's goals and tasks are discussed, but also the place for every party member and candidate.

Lech Lacinski, first secretary of the POP in the Radoskoru tanner's factory:

In recent years, the party committed many mistakes, which even today, to a certain extent, define the conditions for ideological-political work. Today, the main duty of the entire ideological movements is, above all, effective opposition to antisocialist forces. The efforts of party organizations need to strive to isolate opponents from the working class.

Basic and sectional party organizations are the elements on which the party in the factory depends. Ideological-political work, conducted specifically in the POPs and OOPs, ought to serve the strengthening of party power, so that she can solve issues affecting any member or candidate by herself. This is not possible, so long as we keep running into attitudes which are far from party ideology.

The party in Radoskoru is moving forward. Not only does the large participation of the workforce in the May Day celebration prove this, but also the growing activism of party members in the working self-government and developing trade union movement.

Eugeniusz Czarkowski, chairman of the professional union board in the Agromet Agricultural Machinery Factory in Rzurow:

The activity of professional trade unions is expanding in the province's factories and enterprises. There are 232 unions registered in the factories, while 138 have already elected their leadership. In Agromet, many party and nonparty members, representing former branch unions and Solidarity, have joined the new trade unions. We want to deal with two most important workforce issues in the near future: namely, apartment construction and wages, which are considerably different from the national average.

The trade union movement is growing stronger; supervisory personnel and representatives of party and social organizations are supporting it in the

factory. Up until now, the authorities have displayed an easy attitude towards the missions and initiatives of the new trade unions.

Stanislaw Gil, main committee first secretary in Gozdzie:

We recently noted a downturn in the development of the POP in its party work in the countryside. We were successful in halting this process, but it still would be difficult to call these POP centers active. In combating this stagnation, we are applying considerable efforts to involve the rural intelligentsia to a greater degree in POP work. A contribution from the rural intelligentsia is often a factor causing positive changes, which had been anticipated by us. In struggling with the wornout concept that party affiliation brings definite material advantages, we are turning special attention on the implementation of proposals and demands from rural party members. Often, they are trivial in nature, but very troubling. We need to keep in mind that the party practice of carefully reviewing suggestions, coming up from the smallest elements, helps allocate their proper importance and their encouragement for active, creative work.

The speaker also presented certain problems associated with the daily operations of the Gozdzie rural communities.

Irmina Novicka, a teacher and POP first secretary in the Wosniki Organization of Horticulture Schools:

The continuing struggle with the political enemy brings the school face to face with special tasks. The more so, because the school is a center of confrontation. In fighting this, teachers cannot forget what their role in the socialist education of the younger generation is. The ongoing social stabilization process facilitates the shaping of young people's attitudes. School POPs also have a not too small role to perform in this process. They also need to be directed by the executive actions of the education centers. There is no shortage of positive examples in this area. POP secretaries also play a significant role in politically encouraging teachers to break up the torpor. The point is that we need to constantly care about arming them with indispensable political knowledge and arguments. Hence, the necessity to systematically train the aktiv.

The involvement and effort of the teacher-guardians of school youth organizations can only be properly appreciated in the future, as they can often direct the interests of their pupils, towards goals which are compatible with social needs.

Tadeusz Piatek, provincial committee lecturer and scientist at the Higher School of Engineering [WSI]:

The central programs of party schools are not always compatible with the needs of the environment. Lecturers should have more freedom in the choice of subjects. They then have to maintain their contacts with the people among whom they work. A restoration of the proper position of the concept of party responsibility is needed. This is tied to the need to involve wide social

circles in dispensing ideas, presenting views and creating lasting solutions. We need to aim for the propagation of the proper understanding of the principles of party etiquette. It obligates everyone, both the activists and those who do not perform specific party functions. Groups of party members cannot be the backdrop for those activities undertaken by the POP. It is also necessary to oppose those activities, which are directed at the whim of those who occupy high positions in the party. The elimination of incorrect patterns and the spread of observing the principle of the agreement of words and deeds are the elements which serve the victory over our moral crisis. For this to succeed, it is necessary to answer the question: Whom do we prefer, those who usually approve or those who boldly present their ideas?

Waldemar Kaczmarek, plant committee first secretary in the Tobacco Industry Plants:

In restoring the standing of social representative agencies, we cannot forget that party members and councilors at all levels have a considerable role to play in these activities. Much depends on the style of the work and party councilor clubs. They have to set the tone for the councilor effort and submit all their actions to public scrutiny. A councilor, and party member, has the duty to inform the mother POP of his activities. If he, after having been entrusted with a mandate, fails to perform his duties, he should be severely regarded by the POP. Plant councilor teams can perform an important role in the shaping of the work style of the center's representative. Hence, it is useful to reactivate them most quickly.

Genowefa Podgajniak, district party organization [OOP] first secretary with the Warsaw University Department of Culture and Art:

Culture is an activity in the ideological sphere. The political battle in the area of culture lets itself be most strongly felt among those who create. The majority of the Radom Province's cultural artists, generally speaking and in spite of the many difficulties, did not demonstrate any decisively negative attitudes or any outright hostile ones. Individuals of small stature and social experience did manifest them. The attitude of the direction cadres of institutions and cultural centers did have a decisive impact on people's moods. After August 1980, cultural centers mostly went over to Solidarity. Above all, this refers to museum officials and cultural homes and facilities, as well as productive centers; to a lesser extent, librarians were affected. This situation, typical for the entire country, was the result of mistakes in the 1970's' cultural policy and a disregard for culture. Weak party politics also had an impact on the formation of the aforementioned atmosphere.

The main mission of the activists and the centers was and is the dissemination of cultural values.

Adam Włodarczyk, the first secretary of the local party journalist organization in Radom:

Mass media do not have a trivial mission in the ideological and political activity of the party. This concerns not only the systematic presentation of

the extent of the involvement of individual echelon organizations, but also the demonstration of the most proper and effective work style, along with the consistent struggle against the political enemy. Because of the errors of the past 10 years, these efforts are not easy.

The party press, in performing its mission, can write about specifics and effects, and not about plans and intentions. This will be journalism on party ideological and political subjects. Radom's journalists can be proud of their achievement in party propaganda. Proof of this is the distinction which TYGODNIK RADOMSKI achieved in competition with the editorial staff of ZYCIE PARTII. Regarding, however, the still existing shortcomings, it is necessary, to a great degree, to make the columns of our papers accessible to ideological theoreticians, experienced practitioners and activists of the echelons at various levels. We are talking about cooperating with those who can say something clever, but clearly, using proper and simple argumentation.

Krzysztof Krawczyk, scientist of the WSI and a delegate to the 9th Party Congress:

I consider today's plenum, dedicated to ideological matters, to be the most important of our term. It should help in strengthening the party rank and file and in finding a plan for national understanding. The discussion favors a better understanding of the essence of the economic reform. I think, that the time has really arrived when we should deal with the real missions of socialism; that is, to make our society a society of social justice. Above all, reform must help. An increase in productivity, economization, a better work organization and the struggle with inflation and social pathologies are only an instrumental approach to the problems of a sick economy. The party must answer the question: how will the reform implement a just social system?

And now, an issue which pains me, as a scientist, very much. The published manual on scientific degrees authorizes in institutions of higher learning and all science a system which is frankly feudal. A scientist, who reaches the appropriate status of an independent official, will not have to exert himself much, but he can harm others outright, to conceal his inactivity. Meanwhile, society should profit from the efforts of our scientists.

Zdzislaw Oreziak, director of the Regional Center of Party Work in Grojec:

During the past 2 years, many laws were passed which touched upon inter alia professional trade unions and self-government. They also had an influence on the shaping of the socialist state. Changing regulations also create new conditions for the activities of party and social organizations.

In discussing reform and social change, we often see only the economic bill and forget about the individual, his role and needs. The party needs to strive to prevent this.

Party echelons and organizations, if they are to lead society, have to excel. Recent years have led to the party concerning herself almost exclusively with her own matters. A new work style is needed, as well as contacts with nonparty



members, a better preparation for meetings and the correct division of individual tasks. Necessary, of course, is the awakening of the emotional relation of all party members and candidates to that which the party is planning and doing.

The POPs should also have a greater influence on the totality of cadre policy. These problems cannot wait for discussion in the Central Committee for too long.

12247

CSO: 2600/878

COMMENTATOR ASSESSES VALUE OF PASSIVE PARTY MEMBERS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 May 83 p 1

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "What the Entire Party Can Do"]

[Text] Among numerous practical questions that party organizations ask themselves--above all, those among them that have been able to gather strength and find their ideological identity--not the least important is the question dealing with methods of assuring universal activism of all members. From past experiences, both those of the period before the [party] congress and those, more recent, of a year ago, the party has drawn a conclusion that passivity has a restraining effect on action. At meetings, and during talks with the aktiv, we discern clearly those aspirations to make our party active, involved, and militant.

This is, of course, clear proof of changes which have been made and continue to be made in our party. However, it should be stipulated that removal of a passive comrade from membership rolls is merely the simplest and the easiest action to take. It is much more difficult, and at times very difficult, to find the deep causes of such a passive attitude, and to carefully consider whether these causes include insufficient commitment to the party or are the fault of other comrades... However, it is even more difficult precisely to find a formula for this highly desirable activism of the whole party.

Entrusting individual tasks to members of organizations, although practiced with increasing frequency, still is not common and self-evident practice. This is sometimes caused by lack of sufficiently broad concept of reality in a plant or in a rural area which would facilitate pinpointing such sensible tasks. Sometimes there is enough resourcefulness for assignment of tasks, but lack of consistency in regular checking on their implementation sinks the whole project. Sometimes, the tasks are defined in such a general and nebulous fashion that indeed they cannot be, in practice, accounted for. All this does not favor activation of party members.

However, we also need to ask another question: Can a mass-membership party, like ours, be equally active in its entirety, without exceptions? Is such a situation, of course a desirable one, at all attainable? Is the beautiful vision of bringing all members up to the level of the degree of the aktiv's involvement a realistic one?

The problem is how to achieve the best possible results precisely in a party that has a large membership which consists of all kinds of people, not only those whom nature has endowed with that spark of social talent which is so hard to capture. The party also consists of people who have no ability to speak in public, to energize others into action, and to engage in polemics. It includes those who joined our ranks because of their belief that the party's program is the correct one, or because of their wish to indicate their political sympathies through membership in an organization, and because of their desire to be among people who think and feel as they do. They can spend their entire lives in the party, loyal to it in good and bad times, but they will never be in the forefront. And they, indeed, are also an element of the party's strength; they are the party's living tissue.

And so--somebody may ask--should we not require anything of them? No, we must not state the problem this way. First of all, there is the [party] statute as well as obligations and standards that it imposes on all without exceptions. There are not and there cannot be any exemptions from this statute, either in the area of organizational duties or in the ideological platform. And there is one more statutory obligation, accessible to everyone--to lead in that post in the social division of labor which life has assigned to a person. Today, as never before, this requirement of party involvement is of enormous importance. No activist, member of an executive body, lecturer, member of a commission, who performs his professional duties--whatever they may be--poorly, ineptly, or negligently, can believe himself to be an active member of our party; this applies both to a director and to an unskilled worker.

It is this individual task that is assumed by each one of us when we accept our party membership card. And implementation of this task cannot be either "too difficult under these conditions" or "unprofitable, given our present earnings." Indeed, the entire party is capable of this form of activism. Need we add of what political and moral significance would be the attainment of a situation in which over two million of party people would represent an army of excellent, exemplary workers?

9577

CSO: 2600/914

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Difficult Steps in Union Formation

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 4 May 93 pp 1, 4

[Article by Tyszard Klimaszewski: "Independent, Self-Governing, our First Difficult Steps"]

[Text] No gossip or slander will undermine or minimize this fact: the reborn trade unions,--slowly, but systematically--are undertaking their statutory activity. Life has convinced us of the indispensability of this workers' representation in large and small work places, since in every work place there are human problems and tasks evolving from them.

The presence of trade unions at work places and in the life of the workers has real meaning in the present difficult social-economic situation. Certainly this is no time for proposing spectacular claims. In confrontation with hard reality, however, with regard for the real possibilities in one's own work place, in the plant group, in the town, it is possible to do much to improve community living conditions. It is possible--as practice in various plants in the Suwalki Province has proven--to help people meet their needs if only to a moderate degree.

With Confidence and... Reservations

I became interested in the trade unionist movement in the Suwalki Province not only because of the recent discussions of this problem by the Provincial Executive Committee of the party. In this case information in the press would have been enough. I took up the subject not from the point of the Bialostok or Lomza Provinces, but in Suwalki because in this area the quarrelsome extremes of Solidarity caused harmful divisions among the people, breaking up even the best friendships.

As I got to know the genesis and development of trade unions in the voivodship, I was not surprised that this process is so slow. As a result of pretensions and mutual resentments that are not yet extinguished, and of the reserve arising from the less-than-best practices of the former

unions, the attitude toward the new organization is varied in specific sectors and plants. For example, trade unions are being formed more rapidly in Elk, Goldap, Olecko, Augustow, Wegorzewo, and Sejny, and more slowly in Mikolajki, Pizsa, and Suwalki, more rapidly in industrial and agricultural plants, and more slowly in administrative cultural and financial institutes (PZU [State Insurance Bureau] and ZUS [Social Security Agency]).

So after 4 months of this year the Voivodship Court in Suwalki gave legal standing to almost 180 plant organizations. In 270 work places, however, organizing committees or initiating groups have been organized. On the other hand in 60 plants and institutes wait-and-see attitudes and passivity continue. This means that union activity has been undertaken to a greater or lesser degree in approximately 90 percent of all the enterprises authorized to establish union structures.

These data may, however, be satisfactory actually if we take into account the existence of trade unions in the largest and most important plants. It seems that although several months have passed since the passage of the resolution on trade unions, only about 20,000 of the more than 100,000 persons working in the socialized sector of the voivodship have applied for membership. And if one checks the plant registers, it seems that a significant percentage is still made up of pensioners and annuity recipients.

It is true that workers involved directly in production comprise 70-80 percent of the members. Nonetheless--as must be taken into account--there is a lack of young people and engineering-technical personnel in the unions. In Suwalki they say that there is a lack of interest in trade unions on the part of the young workers, technical personnel, and administrative workers.

Antoni Zubrowski, inspector from the organizing-political division of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR, responsible for conditions favoring the establishment of unions, says that the situation is changing from week to week now that social commissions have ceased activity. Administration elections which have taken place in more than half of the unions have great significance as have the adopted programs for action. Meetings, which are called with considerable frequency, take place on a completely democratic basis. In the great majority of cases workers elected to the administration are those that are recognized by the staff and have distinguished themselves in work at the plant and in community work.

An equally important matter, since it makes wider activity that draws people to the unions possible, is the allotment of funds from the plant accounts. Needs are great, as is evidenced by the numerous applications to the administrations.

These are indisputably positive manifestations. On the basis of observation in separate enterprises, it may be said that prejudices against the new unions are being overridden, of which at least an example is the

appearance of initiator groups in the wait-and-see PSK [State Motor Transport] and WPS "Kolbet." Working people feel the need to be concerned about social justice, giving assistance, and defending their rightful interests. But, as we might have anticipated, the process of creating new unions is moving gradually and unevenly. And, something which we must take into account, the development of this process will continue to be uneven and to be made more difficult, depending on the situation in the given work place and in the national economy, as well as on the activity of the opposition. An expansion of the trade union movement, and by the same token, its strengthening, from activity at the level of individual plants to activity beyond the plant seems desirable. First attempts in this direction have already been undertaken also in Suwalki Province. For example, in education where 700 of 1200 teachers joined the union, the possibility of creating a district union was recognized. And such a motion was sent to the state government.

The need to form a national trade union is recognized also by members of trade unions in agricultural enterprises and those linked to agriculture. Finally, Suwalki Province representatives participated in the national conference on this matter that took place in Wroclaw.

#### How Can Interests Be Reconciled?

Organizing a union and registering it, electing an administration, and developing a program of action, this is only the beginning of a great and responsible work. We know what troubles people most: housing, supplies, wages, working conditions... Not a day passes that appeals are not made to existing unions.

It is good then that, beginning with initiating groups and founding committees, these matters should find themselves at the center of the regenerating movement. But what will happen with their realization, on which, of course, the overcoming of reserve among the undecided and broad support for the new trade unions, their development, and their place in the life of the nation depends?

To tell the truth, the activity of the trade unions will not be easy in the near future, because of various conditions. Consider that workplaces operate under different circumstances than before. The economic reform gave many privileges, but designated rights and responsibilities at the same time. Soon, as a result of independence and self-financing, the results of work be tied ever more closely to wages and social security; the union administration may find itself facing a difficult decision if there are differences of opinion on this topic. All the more, when the work force or a part of its is not inclined to understand the restraints.

Let us also consider the fact that the authority of the directors and labor self-government is different now, much greater, and in many cases independent of the ministers. Meanwhile the possibilities of the plant union organizations are significantly smaller than in the old "hat-in-hand" organizations.

Fortunately, in this partnership there were, and let us hope there will be no contentious problems and conflicts. Thus far representation of workers' interests in our region is going forward with a broad view of economic relations and the cooperation of entire staffs. Of lesser importance are examples that pertain to individual attitudes, but not the general labor force; in a few plants, namely in the STW Division in Suwalki, the administration of the union accepted the sanctions of the directors with respect to nonconscientious workers.

Expressing a conviction as to the actual organization of partnership relations in an enterprise, it is impossible not to note that the correlation between effects and benefits may also depend on external factors. Just as every enterprise affects the national economy, so it is dependent on it. And the economy is in a crisis. From this point also, expressing the basic interests of labor, the trade unions must take reality into account and must pay attention to the situation of the state.

What does this mean? Specifically this: that to overcome the crisis and lead the economy onto the road of growth, it is necessary to place the common good over the interests of specific groups. For example in the case of realizing certain projects arising from anti-inflation and savings programs and pertaining to limiting the privileges of certain sectors.

This social percept obviously does not curtail the powers and responsibilities of the trade unions in their active defense of labor interests. There is much to be done to improve living and working conditions and to protect the principles of social justice, and to promote cordial interpersonal relations. Therefore worthy of mention are the valuable initiatives of plant union organizations in Elk, Rucian, Nida, Suwalki, and other localities directed toward streamlining commerce and communications, easing the housing difficulties, developing workers' gardens, and bringing administrative workers into closer contact with human affairs.

The problems are broad and difficult. Since in most of the plants I find union activists who are new and have little experience, I believe that organizing the education of the activists is an important and urgent matter. The knowledge these people have and their social involvement will decide basically the character and future of the union movement.

#### Problems in Interplant Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 May 83 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Krawczyk: "Coming out of the Plants"]

[Text] As we have already informed our readers, during the past week the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Truck Factory Workers in Lublin organized a meeting to discuss the problems of creating interplant union structures in plants of the Lublin Province that belong to the machine industry. Representatives of trade unions from the largest plants of this sector, of which there are 21 in Lublin Province, participated.

It seems that in approaching the establishment of interplant union structures, the founders undertook a much more difficult task than reproducing the basic organizations. Mainly because what is of concern here is creating conditions for a real coming out of the unions from the plants and their actually exerting the influence of working people on the policies of state authorities in the most important spheres of life, on the fate of the country, and on communal-social problems. The future structures will also have a decisive influence on the effectiveness of intraunion democratic mechanisms, resistance to penetration of the trade unions by plant management and the entrenched trade union apparatus, autonomy of the trade union movement, its authority among workers, and the partnership position of trade unions with the state and economic administration.

During the meeting, Stanislaw Gwozdz, from FSC [Truck Factory] said, "We stand before a unique opportunity to create a movement, mature and resistant to control, firmly defending our workers' causes, by being prudent on the one hand, and persistent in our actions on the other hand (...). We, trade unionists from FSC are opposed equally to establishing structures which might maneuver us into a situation like that of the former CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] and to the post-August trade unions which were pushed so easily into a nonunion area of activity. In both cases it came to the worst in the trade union movement, to forcing the will of a small group of activists and political players on the mass membership (...)."

Representatives of FSC proposed forming a temporary committee for organizing structures of the interplant trade unions of the machine industry in Lublin Province, which would develop a plan of action in the spheres of: streamlining the links between individual trade unions and exchange of information between them in the matter of forming higher structures; and the order of designating representatives to the initiating group from the plants involved.

An exciting discussion evolved concerning the selection of the form of interplant organization. As is known, the resolution of the state council permits the creation of a higher union organizations in two forms:

--in the form of a single trade union that encompasses in its activity all union members working in the given sector or branch of industry if the individual organizations surrender their own legal entity to the union authorities and submit all their members to one charter, to a uniform system of information, documentation, financial management, obligation to pay the same amounts, and the right to receive the same grants;

--in the form of a federation of trade unions of the given sector in which the individual unions would not lose their legal entity, would retain their own charters and programs of action, and the right to exclusive ruling on amounts of payments and grants as well as on the disbursement of their own funds.



Antoni Lal, of WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant], without negating the need of forming an organizing committee, said that trade union members from Swidnik would join it eventually after their union became adequately acquainted with the idea and the committee's program of action. He said, "At present I do not feel authorized to act as a founder of this committee." A. Lal added also that trade unionists from WSK are confronted by a difficult choice: on the one hand they are interested in eventually belonging to the interplant union structures of the machine industry, and at the same time they have already started to discuss joining the association of the aviation industry.

A representative of the Lublin Scale Factory expressed the opinion that "the federated trade union structure has more appeal for people," but, regardless of how obvious the option for a decentralized structure is, it would be proper to return to the work force and to inform it of the purposes and program of the organizing committee, and only then, having received a mandate from the workforce, to debate the manner of its selection.

Stanislaw Scirka, FSC, explained that this meeting is rather an informational meeting, and is not exclusively a meeting of founders of a provisional organizing committee for interplant structures. He said, "We are concerned only with attaining two goals: to determine what interests you more, a federation or a central organization, and to determine the reasonableness of forming a provisional organizing committee with a program of action like the present program."

Tadeusz Saczuk, FSC, said that the question of selecting either a federated or centralized structure is at present a secondary question since it is more important to determine whether the trade unions want to act together, or if they want to continue to act separately.

Stanislaw Gwozdz, speaking again, explained that FSC has no special interest in taking the role of agitating for the formation of a higher trade union organization if only from the point of view that the union at FSC is strong, flexible, and can boldly act as a partner vis-a-vis the administration, the governor, or the minister.

"Rather we represent," he stressed, "a certain higher interest, we want to foster the ever stronger tendencies to create planes of agreement and cooperation of trade unions, especially evident in the case of smaller plants (...). Just like the trade union from WSK in Swidnik, we are also confronted by a difficult choice. We can, for example, join the association of the automobile industry. But it should be remembered that besides the sector problems, there are also regional problems, and forgetting about these, we may find suddenly that our trade union base is in Zeranien, and that of Swidnik, for example, in Stalowa Wola. In such a situation the gentlemen from the economic or state administration will breathe easily because from then on they will be able to call us to consultations whenever they want without interference, and they will be able to recommend whatever they want."

Kazimierz Iwaniec, Secretary of the Information-Consulting Commission of the Trade Unions at the Presidium of WRN [Voivodship People's Council] of Lublin, said that the selection of an interplant organizational structure must be done with consideration since opting for a federation, which seems to be likely here, may have unfavorable results especially for trade unions in the smaller plants. Deciding on the form of structures in the form of loosely joined trade union discussion clubs, we may later witness a bypassing of the union members by the plant administrations in decisions pertaining to the workforce, not mentioning the small role of such unions in public life.

In spite of the initially exhibited reserve, participants in the meeting decided to form a provisional committee for organizing interplant union structures. Seven members of the committee were chosen from those present; Stanislaw Gwozdz was appointed chairman, and Kazimierz Chrzanowski from the Lublin Agromet [Agricultural Machinery Factory], vice-chairman.

In the course of the meeting, Jan Gryta, chairman of the Information-Consulting Commission, initiated a discussion of the financial-technical difficulties with which trade union activists contend. They have big problems with clearing the delegation and getting permanent positions for technical workers; the plant administrations are very reluctant to allot new unions space and equipment. On this point there was an exchange between S. Scirka and K. Chrzanowski, who maintained that "further increase in permanent positions, space and desks, and making trails to the administration" does not increase the authority of the trade union among the workforce, all the more since the trade union movement is only just being organized and actually its achievements are thus far rather small, and in any case are not a basis for making such demands. In turn, S. Scirka said that he is concerned only with the minimal, indispensable adjustments for trade union activists: a return of wages lost as a result of legitimate activity, clearing of the delegates, and access to telephones or typewriters, and not with the outward trappings of a dignitary or with privileges.

In his response S. Scirka spoke against the practice of double assessment of unions funds.

"It is a squeeze," he said, "that is first taken from the members' contributions, and then from the pay of permanent workers created by these contributions. After all, even artisans who have recently opened their shops have the advantage of tax relief. Why should the new unions not be covered by this precedent?"

In the course of the meeting, Tadeusz Wierzchowski from the Commission for Trade Unions of the WRN Office, Lublin, discussed the concept of educating trade union activists. There are at present two centrally located training centers, in Jachrance near Warsaw, and in Katowice; in September there will be two more, in Gdansk and in Poznan or Wroclaw. There are plans for forming 10 centers in the region which will offer 7-day training sessions. Further, in Lublin Province there will be continuous 1- or 2-day meetings of trade union activists. The training of activists will also take place in the plant setting where it will have the form of open meetings of the workers on themes of social economics.

The last point of the meeting was an evaluation of the state authorities consultation with the trade unions on aims. The method of conducting these consultations was admitted to be unsatisfactory.

In order to fit in with the aims of the government competently, we must organize as quickly as possible a provisional consulting contingent that would include union organizations at the voivodship plants of the machine and steel industry. Recognized as indispensable was the designation by the plants concerned of delegates who would select this consulting contingent.

#### Creation of National Federation Trade Union

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 12 May 83 p 7

[Article by TS: "Building Trade-Unionists From a National Federation"]

[Text] In the Offices of Technology and Construction Planning in Warsaw, representatives of 198 union organizations, working in construction enterprises from 41 provinces met on Wednesday, 11 May, to form an interplant, nationwide trade union structure.

Representative of trade union organizations from small and large settlements took part in the discussion. The matter of the difficulties with which trade unions are confronted in the enterprises was raised many times. There was discussion of the frequently difficult cooperation with the administration and the troubles arising because of the blurred line between the authority of the labor councils and the trade unions. The formation of an interplant structure was universally suggested. Many union representatives, however, had doubts as to the form of such a structure.

Representatives of the Trade Union Consultation Contingent of the state government explained many points that were not clear pertaining to the activity of a trade union organization concentrated in a nationwide structure. Many questions were directed to the lawyer-chairman of the Consultation Commission of the National Council of Warsaw. The longest discussion pertained to the problem of the legal entity of trade unions. The opinion of most of the representatives was that trade unions in enterprises must not give up legal entity to the nationwide structure.

The federation form was almost unanimously favored as being best suited to trade unions in construction enterprises. Those at the meeting undertook to adopt a resolution to form an initiating group for the purpose of forming a federation of trade unions active in construction enterprises, enterprises producing building materials, and those connected with construction.

In the beginning it was established that the initiating group would be made up of representatives of all provinces. A principle was adopted that no more than three persons would represent any province. The following were selected as members of the initiating group from the branch of

construction enterprises working in Warsaw: Jerzy Bator a unionist from the Wschod Residential Construction Combine [KBM]; Jerzy Kolebski, from the Zelbet-Warszawa Industrial Construction Combine [PBP] ; and Stanislaw Bar, a member of the union in Zaplecze PPPBW.

They will meet on 3-4 June with other members of the initiating group to select a Founding Committee of the Federation and to develop a final version of the documents needed to register the new union structure.

#### Creation of Nationwide Farmers' Organization

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 13 May 83 p 2

[Article by B: "Trade Union Movement"]

[Text] In the region 666 trade unions are registered. A nationwide organization of farmers is coming into being. According to data of 11 May, 666 trade unions in our region have already obtained legal recognition. Thus: 123 trade unions have registered so far in Bialsko-Podlaski Province; 90 in Chelm; 333 in Lublin; and 120 in Zamojski Province.

At the beginning of this week, we participated in a meeting with representatives of trade unions of socialized agriculture, representing the following provinces: Bialosko-Podlaski, Chelm, Lublin, and Zamojsk. During the meeting Kazimierz Iwaniec, secretary of the Social Information-Consulting Cimmission for Trade Unions of the Presidium of the WRN [Provincial People's Council] in Lublin, discussed the proposal of the Wroclaw trade unions active in the agriculture sector to form a nationwide organization of the farmers' union. In conjunction with this, trade unionists from Wroclaw Province are organizing a pertinent congress on 12-13 May whose purpose will be to form this organization.

A lively discussion of this proposal ensued. In the course of this discussion, besides voices favoring the need for forming interplant trade union structures, doubts were also expressed as to whether the participants of the present gathering actually have a mandate to debate the Wroclaw proposal without previous consultation with the workforce. Some of the participants accused the organizers of the meeting of excessive haste in putting forth the proposal to form higher structures, suspecting in this a forcing by state and economic administration interests that want to subordinate the trade union movement to themselves. This kind of situation was found in many replications, the authors of which contended that it is just the dissolution and breaking up of trade unions that works to the advantage of certain representatives of state organs and directors of plants that are at present forcing their wills on individual trade union organizations without interference.

Here it was also explained that the meeting in Wroclaw was not after all organized against trade unions. There trade unionists themselves will select contingents of workers who will independently form a committee to organize interplant structures, develop their charters, a program of action, and voting regulations, and will initiate a discussion as to whether a nationwide trade union organization of farmers will take the form of a centralized union or that of a federation of unions.

In the further course of the meeting, the participants accepted the invitation to Wroclaw. Three delegates from each province of our region were selected to participate in the Wroclaw meeting.

#### Developments of Trade Union Federations

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14-15 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article: "Activities of Trade Unions: Federations Are Being Formed"]

[Text] Warsaw (PAP). Trade unions are slowly finding again their rightful places in the life of the workforce in plants and in the country as a whole. Some organizations already have into their credit a good number of settled social and wage matters that had been waiting to be solved for years. Out of the need for more effective action and strengthening the voice of the trade unions, where decisions are made that are important for the workforce, ever more often there arise tendencies to join in nationwide trade union, sector, or plant organizations.

On 13 May in Wroclaw, a 2-day nationwide meeting of leaders of trade union plant administrations of agricultural and food supply enterprises was concluded. An organizing committee was selected to form a nationwide trade union organization; Wojciech Obarski, chairman of the Plant Administration of the Trade Union of PGR [State Farm] workers in Gniechowice (Wroclaw Province), is to act as chairman. A resolution was adopted to form a Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers of the Polish People's Republic. The elected workers' contingents were enjoined to prepare plans for appropriate documentation by the end of May to be presented to the State Council with a request for authorization to act, and to Provincial Court in Warsaw with a request for registration. Stanislaw Zieba, minister for agriculture and food economy, met with the group of 180 leaders of trade union administrations.

That day, on the initiative of trade unionists of the Provincial Grain and Mill Enterprise in Pila, a nationwide information-consultation meeting took place there for the purpose of forming a Nationwide Federation of Trade Unions of Workers in the Grain and Mill Industry. In the course of the meeting, at which there were delegations from 30 enterprises and therefore almost all those existing in the country, the drafting of a charter that will be subjected to discussion by all trade unionists was discussed, and an initiating group for the federation was formed.

2950

CSO: 2600/884

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

New Dilemmas in Trade Union Developments

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 4 May 83 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Jurkiewicz: "Behind the Factory Gate"]

[Text] The latest summaries of reports flowing in from work establishments and public service institutions indicate that despite the total unevenness with which it is organizing and developing, the new trade union movement has nonetheless reached dimensions that already cannot fit into plant structures. Metal workers, for example, as well as miners, collectivized agricultural enterprise workers, and elementary and trade school teachers have union organizations that operate in all or the great majority of their work establishments, are finished with, or in the process of electing statutory authorities, and under the pressure of an accumulation of problems that are demanding a representative voice of the entire working environment, want to proceed further.

However, the problem is not only in the first ranks. The trade union movement is growing for us at the rate of about 2,500 plant unions a month, and already toward the end of April had 11,000 with a total number of members reaching 2.4 million. Undoubtedly, that is not the halfway mark of its development period, but at the same time, an activity horizon limited to intraplant activity is already beginning to be too restrictive for representatives of the working interests of a couple of million (members).

Particularly so, when faced with problems of such magnitude as the social distribution of costs in coping with inflation, the development of a new system of wages, making employment more efficient, and incorporating into production the potential wasted in a bloated administration, the unwise idea of saving the results of one's own work, and dozens if not hundreds of others. Neither the legislative authority, the government or the working people see the possibility of resolving these problems today through their own efforts without the partnership of the trade unions.

A calculation of possibilities indicated that at least a year would be necessary to start a new union movement in the confusion of the times, general disappointments, living condition distresses and political traumas. This was

not a calculation that erred by an excess of caution. A calculation of needs shows that 3 months is too long. That to wait longer for complete and general organizing, unwinding, and strengthening of plant unions begins to mean the same thing as equally restraining the participation of the public, and state authority plans in mutually lifting the country out of the crisis via democratic transformations in its socialist social order.

In this situation it was necessary to make a choice, and as is known, the State Council made such a choice, and issued a resolution on 12 April that allows trade unions to organize nationwide structures either in federative arrangements, or unions that join workers of individual trades. Thus, a restraint was removed. But the dilemmas remained because it is not a legal act, but only people who can decide how the development of the new union movement will proceed, and what it will bring.

Undoubtedly, the dilemmas are already different than they were at the beginning (of the movement) but no easier because of that. The first one is the earlier mentioned enormous unevenness of organizing the movement. At one end we have unions with thousands of members already operating in the largest work establishments, that are gaining the respect of work staffs by effective, valued service in their behalf. However, at the same time at the other end of the union map, there is a blank with respect to up to 28 percent of the total of our enterprises whose staffs are still waiting and looking for someone--instead of taking matters into their own hands. How to even out that front, remembering that between movement leaders and movement titles, there are many weak organizations surrounded with distrust and bombarded by the opposition from every barrel of antiunion diversion?

Will federations or unions that are forming want to become involved in supporting--where it is possible and necessary--isolated activists with the power of their authority? Will they wave them off in order to fly to the front peacefully in their own circle? It would, of course, be a grievous sin of the union vanguard if in entering a higher stage of activity it forgot the elementary truth that a strong movement is a universal movement, a movement that is animated by confidence in its capabilities and freed from the blackmail of the political opposition, a movement that is found in effective action in every work plant and in every worker matter.

The next dilemma can be reduced to an answer that nationwide union structures in process of formation manage to formulate in reply to the question: What does it mean to participate in governing the country, to cooperate in deciding its social, economic, and cultural policy? Is it a case only of lifting something that someone needs, where to get something, and with whom, and how to share it? Or also does the indispensable guarding of the interests of this crew, or of that union group mean reaching still deeper to the heart of the matter, and what to do and how to do it, so that more will be created to cover the needs? So that "to attain" could be universally understood as saving, economizing, making more effective? So that it would be self-evident that it is not possible to share more than was added?

It is not secret that all efforts to date of consulting with unions on the government's operation to overcome the crisis elicited more thinking of the type "whatever is necessary," than of "how to increase what is good, eliminate waste and lift oneself up." Let us put the matter openly, that wanting to co-decide the country's fate we are only learning, and that with the greatest difficulty, to be coresponsible for all of the social results of such decisions. Thus, what is it that predominates in the large union structures: consideration of the group's interest that reaches no further than the cash register or understanding the basic rationales of one's own nation?

These are only two of many new problems that the new federations and union associations will come up against. Will not, however, the way they are taken up not determine how all of the remaining ones are resolved?

#### Painful Development of Trade Unions

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 5 May 83 p 1, 2

[Article by Krzysztof Cielenkiewicz: "Trade Unions--Strenuously, but Ever Forward"]

[Text] The Krakow CHEMOBUDOWA Enterprise is listed as number 1 in the register of the Provincial Court in Krakow. It was the first enterprise in Krakow Province-City in which the new unions began to operate formally. At that time, the organizing committee numbered 107 persons. Currently, there are 470 union members in Chemobudowa and new declarations are arriving every day.

On 1 February 1983, that is 1 month from the deadline set by the Sejm resolution that made possible the beginning of union activity, there were organizations at 141 factories in Krakow Province-City. "Actually," says Mgr Hanna Czarniecka, president, Department I of the Provincial Court in Krakow, "we have registered 385 of them."

"I am reviewing the court record. In April, there were 64 unions; among others, the Krakow Work Service Cooperative GROMADA, the Agricultural Academy, the Zootechnical Experimental Institution, in Balice, the VISTULI Branch in Myslenice, the House of Culture "Under the Rams," the Krakow Road Construction Enterprise, and the Krakow General Construction Design-Research Office. This record is evidence of the growing interest among workers in various trade circles, that is materializing in the form of union organizations arising in their work establishment. Three hundred eighty-five unions have been registered in enterprises and establishments. Initiating groups and organizing committees that are preparing for registration are functioning in 182 establishments.

"It should also be known that 142 factory unions have already completed the election of their managements.

"Thus, trade unions have become a fact in 567 units of the socialized economy.



"The court receives 3-4 applications for registration every day from new union organizations. No one is waiting in line. We try to arrange everything currently. It must be admitted that the documents required by the court are being prepared ever better by initiating groups and organizing committees, which substantially speeds up the registration action," says Mgr Hanna Czarniecka.

Again the record to confirm those words. In the last several days, there are a dozen or so entries. Among them is the Krakow Cooperative of the Blind, the Myslenice Branch of the PKS (State Motor Transport), the Krzeszow Road Building Materials Mine, School Construction Group No 1 in Krakow, the Plant Growing Station from POLANOWICE, the Housing Construction Cooperative from Krakow....

Behind each entry are people who constitute the organizing committee. From 10-20, and even almost 100 in the case of the Zootechnical Experimental Institution in Balice.

So much for the documents from which I also note that trade unions have been formed in all of the plants in Nowa Huta, in Proszowice and Wieliczka; they also exist in most of the enterprises and institutions in Myslenic, Krzeszowic and Skawina. These documents already constitute the history of the first days for some while for others, they are the present day....

The unions have arisen and are functioning. How? In most cases they are at the program-building stage and at the same time of effort to increase the number of members. I look at the statistics--for barely a dozen weeks of activity the numerical condition is not too bad.

For example, in Kabel [Krakow Cable and Cable Machinery Factory], 30 percent of the crew belongs to the new unions, in the Nowa Huta INSTAL [Industrial Installation Enterprise] also almost that many, in STOMIL [Stomil Rubber Industry Works]--40 percent, in units under the management of the District Post and Telecommunications Office--29 percent, and in the Skawina PREFABET [Prefabet Cement Industry Enterprise]--40 percent. I did not try to find exactly the best ones, but I would not be in agreement with the facts were I to say that it is the same everywhere as in the enterprises named.

It varies. Looking at the trades, for example, in metal working, mining, power engineering, food industry, transportation, PKS (State Motor Transport), forestry--trade unions have arisen in all enterprises. Thus, a 100 percent state of possession. Actually, unionists of these sectors have already proceeded towards creating federative structures.

In turn, in PKP [Polish State Railroads] transport, electromachinery industry, chemical industry, education and upbringing, communication, health service, construction trade, agriculture, unions exist in 80 to 100 of the units; the situation is weaker in the labor cooperative movement where unions do not even exist in half of the plants.

Why is it thus? Why these differences? There is still inadequate knowledge among workers about the resolution on trade unions that provides much broader prerogatives, and thus possibilities for action than the previous law on unions.

A knowledge of the previously-mentioned legal acts, unfriendly attitudes that are encouraged, and an effort to create a special atmosphere around them, constantly exercise a negative influence on the creation and development of new unions. Thus, from their depreciation and ridicule, to efforts to organize either a quiet or open boycott, and the social isolation of people who involve themselves in creating a new structure. Instances are also noted of personal pressures on activists at the place of work and residence (letters and phone calls with threats, etc.).

Thus the new unions do not appear in the glory of favorites, but they appear: there is no group on the map of our province that would constitute a blank. And what is fundamental, these new unions have a strong worker core.

Three-fourths of the members. It is actually them. They, like all members, are looking at their union primarily through an economic prism. Hence... there is anticipation of the results of activity and the results of intervention. Effective intervention.

There also is a conviction among work crews that despite the union's broadest powers it will not be possible to arrange for very much. In short, the state cannot afford very much.

Also, the economic administration does not yet fully appreciate the role of trade unions as a democratizing factor of intraplant life. A factor that permits undertaking the same activities as today but with a much wider social acceptance. New methods of management still continue to find understanding with difficulty in many enterprises, enterprises in whose life a place must be found for actual participation with full rights by self-governments and trade unions.

The past years are also reflecting on the current situation and trade union popularity. Also, the most recent years which discouraged affiliation, and the former ones when the administration gradually "became the owner" of the unions' powers. Primarily, those, which placed the union in the position of being able to settle a great deal for the worker. People remember, of course, that this administration was the one that made the decision in the final settlement on granting holidays, summer camps, sanatoriums, even the ticket for a cultural event. A request was submitted to the union, the director did the granting--of course, with the participation of members, but who knew of that. The document that the worker obtained bore the signature of the chief of the institution. The plant council was frequently, too frequently, forgotten.

This baggage of questions and problems of past years, days and current months must be borne today by those activists who have undertaken the formation of new unions. New ones not in name alone. New from a program of action, its effective realization, from a different place that they must take in a self-governing, independent and self-financing enterprise.

These problems face them everyday--the 2 million members of trade unions in the country and more than 55,000 throng of them in our Krakow City-Province.

#### Close Relationship of Unions to Economy

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 6 May 83 p 1, 3

[Article by H Jelec: "Unionists--With Hand on Pulse"]

[Text] Economic action programs have sprung up, or are just now being created in work establishments. Irrespective of programs in everyday practice, there is a large field for the display of talent in preventing uneconomical management, common waste and bad organizational decisions.

Audrzej Trojanski, president of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Polish State Railway workers of the Railroad Equipment Repair Plants in Opole, explains the interest of his union organization in economy simply with the statement that, of course, there is a close connection between management results and gains and wages. Thus, it is in the interest of all workers to call attention to all manifestations of mismanagement, to overcome them, and to seek ways to cut down on expenses. The union is to arrange for monthly meetings of foremen, masters, department heads, management representatives, union organizations and party representatives that will provide an opportunity for a public pinpointing of irregularities, and in general, a discussion on these subjects. One such meeting has already taken place with the participation of about 140 foremen, in which emphasis was placed on the supervisory and executive function of foremen, and the reactions were varied. According to union members, the key to economies broadly conceived, is inherent in departments, individual production segments and at work posts.

Against this background, a question arose that was not so much a conflicting one, as one that remained unclear to the end. It is essential for management, said A Trojanski, that the established plan be completed, for which an appropriate amount of time is necessary. It turned out that in addition to one working Saturday in the month, it would also be necessary to work on 2 free Saturdays. We, as unions, cannot accept that, and from the perspective that this is the way it was supposed to have been for 3 years, for after all, free Saturdays are a great and valuable gain for working people. But on the other hand, plan accomplishment also means something for us, if only that there is money for the crew in that. Hence, we want to demonstrate that these high tasks can be accomplished without relinquishing 2 free Saturdays, and in conjunction with this, with lower costs. And that depends of course on how the work is organized in departments.

A Trojanski provides examples to support his thesis. For example, in accomplishing average railroad car repairs in April, Department II did not have to forego a single free Saturday and completed the plan as well. Or elsewhere, in order not to have to work on one of the last free Saturdays, on Friday, the workers made as many as nine carts under a railroad coach, whereas but four to five of them are made during a "regular" workday. Striving to work in such a way that Saturdays will be free--that is one of the keys to increasing work output. It could also be said that certain reserves manifest themselves under such circumstances, that are not normally visible to the naked eye, and from which also flow certain conclusions....

The specificity of the work in Railroad Coach is the fact that the work consists primarily of repairing railroad equipment, while production occupies second place--this means that there is always something to do, even when there are various problems with supply, and basically, stoppages are no threat. But periodic shortages of certain materials, spare parts, etc., that as a rule occur in the first half of the month, result in working unrhythmically, and... and work at greater cost. Because, when the anticipated supplies finally do arrive, then begins a catching up of plans, and frequently, through work during overtime hours. Extra rates have to be paid for overtime hours, as well as for free Saturdays. Thus, if it is possible to do something at lower cost, why do the same thing at a higher cost? Of course, where it is warranted, and when the matter can be handled in the plant...[then that is another matter].

That is the course of reasoning by union members from Railroad Coach in the matter of free Saturdays. Undoubtedly, it would not be possible for every establishment to execute it. It would, for example, be more difficult to adapt it in the production of tape, but it is also difficult to deny this reasoning's rational premises. During the discussion that took place prior to the introduction of free Saturdays, it was stated in many plants that by increasing output during the remaining days it would be possible to maintain the production level. Subsequently that somehow did not come about for various reasons, and perhaps because there was no necessity for earning money on those free days. This matter of additional costs for additional days and overtime hours is not without significance--it of course has a bearing on the size of the stream of money flowing into the market and constantly not having cover in goods produced.

Another problem raised by union members in the content of economies, is the use of worktime in such a way that a day of work comprises 8 hours of real work, and not merely presence in the plant; for example 6.5 hours of effective work. In general, this problem remains unnoticed; it is spoken of less frequently than, for example, the phenomenon of absenteeism, although its effects are the same. Hence, the reason for those meetings of foremen and masters, those representatives of supervision, on whom raising the effectiveness of the working day depends.

The economy program is not for the management, or for individual organizations in the plant, it is for the entire crew, and participation in its realization appears to be beyond discussion. Everyone can add his little brick here without regard to the positions already contained in the plan. It is understandable that materials obtained with such difficulty cannot be wasted, that lights should not be burning unnecessarily, that only as much fuel should be used as is essential, and that time and labor-saving initiatives need to be supported. A Trojanski personally attaches great weight to the reclamation of various railroad coast parts and their reuse--something that allows saving raw material for construction of new coaches, particularly when there is trouble getting raw materials. Thus, it would be well to expand salvage possibilities. Parts for railroad coaches are not the same thing as parts, for example, for bicycles. Large quantities of raw materials and very substantial savings are involved.

The problem is not a matter of crediting particular individuals, cells or organizations, or sharing credits for the final results. Among plant union managements, it is said that the union joins in resolving the problem of economy, that it is not indifferent to it, and that it sees certain tasks for itself here. The matter of the program itself has been taken care of honestly and uprightly in the establishment--a plan was presented at an all-plant meeting 2 weeks ago, and its confirmation was preceded by a rather stormy discussion that also produced many conclusions.

10433

CSO: 2600/879

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Bydgoszcz Trade Union Developments

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 28 Apr 83 p 1, 2

[Article by M K: "Provincial Meeting of Metal Workers: Trade Union Issues of the Day; Commission for Cooperation With Bydgoszcz Authorities"]

[Text] Representatives of management and the initiator committees of the professional trade unions from the Bydgoszcz Province machine industry plants met yesterday in the House of Culture at the Bydgoszcz Electromechanical Works, Belma. Kazimierz Bejgerowicz, the chairman of the Belma Workers' NSZZ and member of the Social Consultation Commission on professional trade union issues with the State Council, also chaired the meeting yesterday. Ryszard Bandoszek, the Bydgoszcz party provincial committee secretary, was also among the invited guests.

The trade unions' representatives discussed several issues on the significance of guidance. One of these issues was the plan for a metal workers collective agreement, which was published in the beginning of 1981. It was acknowledged that it would be to everyone's benefit if the individual trade unions familiarized themselves with this plan, analyzed its individual sections from the point of view of the changes which the economic reform will introduce into the plants' routine, and worked out specific comments for the ministry after consultation with the workforces.

In undertaking these ventures, the trade union members emphasized that it is necessary to reckon with the economic situation in the country and the requirements of the anti-inflation program. The opinion was expressed that, perhaps for the period of the crisis, it might be possible to suspend temporarily some of the provisions of the agreement, which itself has to provide long-term solutions and build a normal socioeconomic situation in the country. By undertaking measures in this area, the trade unions themselves are tackling one of the most essential problems facing the national structures of the professional movement in the future.

Another issue discussed at the meeting is equally as important for the trade unions: it was the revision of programs and proposals previously operative in the plants' trade union organization. There is more than just one item here worth being consistently implemented.

Among the problems of trade union daily activities touched upon, the difficulties, associated with the implementation of regulations providing workers with working clothes and footwear, were particularly examined by the meeting's participants. The trade union representatives called the drastic reduction in soap allocations sheer nonsense; the same was true for workers who, because of their work, become excessively dirty. There is enough soap on the market, and the size of its allocations to specific work centers should be determined by the workers themselves. This was stressed by the meeting participants. It appears that a verification of the required regulations for this purpose will take place in the next several days; but there are still no official orders. The problem of a worker's larger premium being taxed after years of work with his factory was particularly and universally regarded by the workers as far as wage issues were concerned. Another theme discussed was the extension of training available to the *aktyw*, among which are many young and newly recruited people. It seems that from May, as per the Provincial Information-Advisory Board on Matters of the Professional Trade Union, training centers will be opened in Bydgoszcz. Bydgoszcz will presumably become an inner-provincial training center from next year. This Board also serves as a legal advisor for the trade unions.

Comrade Ruszard Bandoszek, party provincial committee secretary, referred to the negative comments, formulated in the discussion, that many party members are keeping their distance from the new trade unions. The secretary pointed to the political situation in which the trade unions were born. The party did not wish to create the notion that this was not a spontaneous workers' movement, that it was, above all, the conscious choice of the workers themselves. The movement arose and is growing strong; 70 percent of the trade union membership is made up of workers. The party is an ally of the trade union and the duty of the party organization is to stand by the trade unions in time of conflict. The party is encouraging its members to join the trade unions. The provincial committee secretary congratulated the trade unionists, and through them, the plants' workforces, on the holiday of the working people, the First of May.

A decision was made at the meeting to appoint a commission to cooperate with the provincial authorities and to pass on to them the sentiments and problems of the trade unions and the workforces. One representative from each trade union of the machine industry plants will be delegated to the commission. The commission will also undertake such necessary efforts in order to establish contacts with fraternal trade unions in other provinces and prepare the ground for the organization of a machine industry professional trade union federation.

#### Trade Union Members Meeting in Elblag

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 28 Apr 83 p 2

[Article: "Trade Unionists Meet in Elblag"]

[Text] Yesterday in Elblag, the representatives of more than 130 registered factory trade union organizations in the province met with the political and administrative authorities of the region. Among those present were: Ryszard Swieciecki, chairman of the People's Provincial Council, and Zenon Kopczynski, the province's vice-governor.

Jan Pleszewicz, the first deputy of the Provincial Planning Commission, familiarized the trade unionists with the attained results of the implementation of this year's socioeconomic plan and the tasks contained in the already prepared economization and anti-inflation programs. Next, Piotr Milgacz, director of the Warsaw University Department of Labor and Social Issues, spoke on the subject of legal principles in the conscious activity of the work centers and its impact on the daily, social and cultural needs of the workforces; he also spoke of the need to increase the efficiency of the professional quality-control unionists in this regard. On the other hand, Kazimierz Kowalczyk, director of the Warsaw University Department of Physical Education, characterized the role of trade union organizations as that of guaranteeing workers their adequate, but also attractive recreation which is supposed to serve in their regeneration. Franciszek Krupski, secretary of the Provincial Coordination Board for Child and Young Adult Recreation, described the plan for this year's summer activity for the region's youngest citizens.

It was affirmed that administrative centers and institutions do not focus the necessary attention on the issues of organizing the proper recreation for workforces and their families the same everywhere. It also happens that plant administrations are saving money by charging on various forms of recreation for children and young people, e.g. health resorts. Hence the resulting need for trade unionists to familiarize themselves with plant programs concerning the various social activities, with budget estimates and with the concern that the funds, reserved for these purposes, actually are used to help the most needy people, particularly those workers who have families with many children, and mothers who must raise their children alone.

Attempts are under way to include around 19,000 of Elblag Province's children in organized summer recreation.

#### Elblag Province Union Developments

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 28 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by (b): "There Are Already 134 Plant Trade Union Organizations Active in Elblag Province"]

[Text] Slowly, but more and more perceptibly, interest in the new professional trade unions is growing. Evidence is the newly forming lead groups and initiator committees in various factories and institutes, as well as the growing numbers of members already registered and trade unions already operating.

According to the latest data, lead groups and initiator committees are currently active already in 338 provincial factories of various types. The provincial court has registered 134 plant trade union organizations, while 43 requests are pending examination there. More than 18,000 people have joined the region's new trade unions. This represents 15 percent of all employed people in the region. On the other hand, in the factories where trade unions are active, the lead groups and initiator committees included, almost every fourth worker has declared himself for the union. Most new trade unions are



active in collectivized agriculture, education, industry and construction. Considering the region's geography, the largest concentrations of the new trade unions are in the areas of the following cities and rural communities: Susz, Nowy Staw, Sztum, Elblag, Kwidzyn, Malbork, Gradeja, Stary Dzierzgon and Lichnowy. The largest plants where trade unions are active are: the Zamech Mechanical Plants ZWD, EZNS, and PKS Elblag, the Makop Linen Plant (ZPL), the Povincial Transportation Enterprise (WPK), the Mawent Malbork Ventilators Factory and the Ornet Screw and Bolt Factory. Elections for the administrations have already been conducted in almost half of the registered plants. Workers make up the greatest part of the membership in them. There are party members and non-party personnel, activists and members of former branch unions and Solidarity. For instance, in the Nogat Farm Combine and Kwidzyn state farms, the administrative chairmen elected were activists from former branch unions, while in the Bialoszyce POHZ and the Braniewo Communal Construction Association [ZBK], administration functions have been turned over to members of the former Solidarity trade union commissions.

What keeps the new professional trade unions busy? They work on developing and consulting their activities programs with the workforce. They deal with social and everyday issues, security and work hygiene issues, workers' apartments; they also soften outside interference and judge the decisions referring to the division of premiums and other funds.

The new trade unions do not find the proper conditions for their activities always or everywhere. This is because plant managers and engineer-technical cadre are not eager to "talk out" their decisions with the representatives from the workforce. Unfortunately, there are instances of absolute contempt for the legal authority of the professional trade unions. Just this one example: in the enterprise where hogs are fattened, in Czernin, near Sztum, the managers did not consider it appropriate to ask for the trade union opinion on such issues as the division of the premiums or other wage concerns, or even as to the allocation of apartments. It was also done without having consulted with the party organization either. It is difficult for anyone to be amazed if this did not lead to clashes between the enterprise's management and the trade union and party organizations. Intervention was necessary in order that the managers finally recognize who really speaks with authority.

The party provincial committee executive board in Elblag, which had recently discussed those issues, pertaining to the state and activities of the new professional trade unions, recommended the undertaking of further effective measures, which aim at guaranteeing workers' organizations and self-governing agencies the proper conditions for their activities.

## Trade Union Development in Plants

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29-30 Apr-1 May 83 p5

[Interview with Gdynia shipyard workers by Pawel M Staszewski: "We and Our Factory"]

[Text] "I and my factory--what is behind this inter-relation? Working issues of today, tomorrow?" We came with these questions to Zbigniew Sandach and Roman Wolszon, workers in the Gdynia Paris Commune Shipyard, on the day before the May Day holiday.

The first one of them is a wireman from the electrical section; despite his age, 35, he has, together with his training at the factory school, a total of 20 years of experience in the commune. The other is 27 years old and has had 12 years of training, again at the factory's school. He works as a grinder in the tool management department. He is a member of the Polish Socialist Youth Union [ZSMP]. For both, the Gdynia Commune was the first and only place of professional work.

Zbigniew Sandach: I have heard that in Japan the ideal is a worker who spends his entire working life with only one employer and that this ideal is practically universal there. But at the same time, the employer and the trade union there come together as an institution with a resilient nature which provides the worker with a kind of social welfare. We ought to work out such a model for ourselves in the future. But here I am digressing.... I consider it natural for a worker to work in only one plant. In our commune, the work is often strenuous; recently, it hasn't been paying as well as it used to. I think, however, that the half of a man's life spent at his place of work, should consist of more than just "work and wages." Here, I learned a profession; here, I advance; here, I become involved in social work; and here, I proved myself, especially during the last difficult years. Here, I gained satisfaction when I was congratulated for my good work, and here, I was accused of being "one of those party members...." This is why it is also my factory.

Roman Wolszon: There were good and bad times, lean and fat years. Today, during the economic reform under the 3 "S" idea, the shipyard is implementing the contracts from the end of the 1970s, without the chance of applying the agreed-upon prices to its product. Our coproduction partners are already observing them. This is due to the economic results and size of the profit share. In such a situation, the chance for changes in our wages is temporarily very small. Sure, if you have a good skill, you can take off for another job, to some cooperative or shopkeeper. But it is no honor, I think.... A large, modern plant has something fascinating about it, a certain momentum found nowhere else. Feelings and views, which later tie one even more tightly, form here; a great "historical rectification" took place here recently,

along with a "rectification in socialism," which had ceased being ours or any worker's socialism. Everyday small trivial matters are also important. It doesn't matter how much better I learn about my factory and its structure or become involved in social work, I always know what and how I can contribute, with whom I have to talk and how I can help myself and others.

Zbigniew Sandach: for today and the foreseeable future, our most important concern, and I mean the concern of all workers, is getting out of this economic crisis. This is really a concern for the whole of society, but the role of the employed in the production sphere is unique in the realization of this task. The 3-year plan is creating the chance for extricating the economy out of this mess and getting it back on the road of a balanced market. But it is only a chance. Economic reality will be decided in the hundreds of thousands of factory working positions.

Roman Wolszon: Our shipyard builds ships today. These are greatly complicated products of technical thinking and the efforts of the minds and hands of people with very different specialties. A great quantity of very different factors--equipment, technology, many materials, subassemblies, instruments and precise installation. At every stage of construction, during the long-lasting periods, we have the chance to improve, economize, and technologically and organizationally increase efficiency. We need only try and we will be efficient. We have had positive experiences for years in the youth organizations with this concept. As an example, the Young Technical Masters Contest was and is a school for economic thinking for young engineers, technicians and workers who possess so-called technical know-how; for our factory, it has always been a source of ideas lowering costs and increasing profits. Specific figures, defining the savings, are, perhaps, not impressive compared to the worth of the shipyard or to our production, but this is not the key point. Besides, all savings today, large and small, are valuable. We can only count the savings; without them we will not be able to get out of this economic mess. We are pleased that the requirement to economize, which we expound about across the TMMT, or the work contests or competitions, is not just a requirement, or an addition to a plan which creates the opportunity for overfulfilling itself and then afterwards flatters itself with the effects, as if these had been planned at the top as something extra that had to happen. At the same time, the need to economize is not an irrevocable premise caused by the implementation of a 3-year plan, which to a great degree, is based on reserves heretofore not yet utilized, on the elimination of mismanagement, on the economization of material, energy and fuels, on the recycle of residues, and on a reduction in the production process.

Zbigniew Sandach: We are organizing the TMMT for the sixth time this year. The introduction of ideas from proposals of more than a year ago has produced savings greater than 1 million zlotys. It goes without saying that the shipyard is interested in holding down the waste of materials and appliances imported from the West; and even here, we have something to be proud of. Adam Rachwal, a TMMT participant, presented a construction proposal based on his own area of expertise, electronics devices. His idea was to equip new vessels with carriers and tanks, developed here. These items were formally imported from the West at a cost of \$4,000 a unit. The project has already been implemented and the savings are considerable.

Roman Wolszon: One of the sore points in the shipyard and especially on our workforce is the fluctuation and shortage of workers. Production potential, developed in the 1970s, is not being completely utilized. What can keep young people tied to a shipyard or profession which is not as attractive as it once was? One of the best ways of keeping people here would be the speedier receipt of apartments and the promise of stabilization faster and better there than elsewhere. Such hopes are currently being realized here. A shipyard apartment cooperative has formed; housing complexes and homes will be built. Some homes are already finished, and they are only the beginning. At every chance, workers of the social services department, and themselves amateurs of the quick construction of housing complexes and homes, are gaining experiences, often sorely painful ones.... There are dozens of barriers: formalities, location, expropriations, etc.; and many smaller headaches with credits, order compliance, the transportation of many materials, e.g. residual construction steel used to leave the yard as scrap metal; now, it can be used in home building.

Zbigniew Sandach : It is too bad that there is such a great bureaucracy tied up in this matter. On the one hand, there is the pressing problem of housing, one of the reasons for dissatisfaction at the end of the social crisis from several years back. On the other hand, there are the promises of a single family home being fulfilled quickly. And in the middle--there are the "sluggish" regulations which, when written, did not consider that during periods of tension, crisis and impatience there would be expectations that something be done. These "expectations" gather weight lying on desks somewhere, and are the reason for frustration, rage and resignation. A law is a law, but a specific regulation, even if noble and super-just but which hinders the process, which should now be able to move quickly, is a Trojan horse, something which threatens the realization of expectations and desperately solid social goals. During these exceptional periods, such regulations, contrary to the needs of the moment and the authorities, should be suspended or changed. What of it that we have allocated sites, that equipment, people and materials can be mobilized at a moment's notice--yet expropriation issues take years despite the scope and urgency of the problem. This great chance to stabilize the workforce and bring an end to changes should be utilized--the regulations should be simplified.

Roman Wolszon: It is an even greater shame, that no real consideration is focused on the educational, closely political aspect of the issue. What can we say about the so-called quality of life of young shipyard workers of their families, growing old over several years in workers' hotels or private quarters? Is this some sort of progress for people who have made it here from small cities and rural communities? This is not quality of life, but a lack thereof. It may be annoying, but it is known what goes on in these hotels on payday. Then, it is easy to talk about grief, resentments and dissatisfaction. This is how the ground is prepared for the appearance of pathological and criminal phenomena.... I recently spoke to a colleague, one of the happy ones who not only is building himself a home, but is finishing it along with its grounds. I cannot comprehend, he said, what I used to do on free afternoons or evenings, on Saturdays or Sundays. I loafed, wasted time; my life was running through my fingers. Today, every minute I have until night, sometimes even during the night, I build!

Zbigniew Sandach: Yes, a man's entire energy is then directed towards what he accepts with his greatest desire.

Roman Wolszon: At the same time, this all ties in together with the factory, which while concerning itself with production interests, cares equally about the individual worker and his vital interests.

Zbigniew Sandach: This is what I really had on my mind when I digressed at the beginning of this interview....

#### New Trade Unions in Plants

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 2 May 83 p 3

[Article by Teresa Betkowska: "These Trade Unions Will not Be a Repetition"]

[Text] Edward Gajewski and Janusz Waligorski are from the Krakow Measuring Instruments Plant, "Mera-KFAP". They both work in quality control. Before others join in on the conversation, I hear from them how the professional trade unions were forming up in the factory; the new ones, that is.

They say: "After 2 days, we made our declarations in the court. On 12 November, we were already registered as the third trade union in Krakow."

It is a fact that people, joining the initiator group, were of different ages, different view and orientations. And one more thing, Andrzej Korzeniowski, a former activist in Solidarity, became the chairman of the Provisional Committee. Today, he is a member of the Consultative Commission with the State Council--this they especially emphasized.

When the talk got around to the motivations behind joining the trade unions, others then joined in on the conversation. The press report of the answers to the above questions was as follows:

The trade unions were anticipated. After all, let us speak the truth; it was talked about for a long time and it was also certainly known that they would come about.

People often told us that neither branch nor Solidairty unions suited them. Now, certain things are coming into being anew and are starting from scratch. Indeed, these new trade unions will not be a repetition or duplication of the previous ones.

Every man has his own reasons for joining.

The end can be awaited. After this term, legal obligations are lost, there is the training period. Who will pay for the grants and allowances? The life of the social commission is over.

Janusz Waligorski has this opinion on the subject: "Specifically those people will join the professional trade unions, who maintain that the union is indispensably needed. And this is not from a purely financial point of view. Indeed, it is known that a worker sometimes needs completely different assistance besides allowances. Even in professional matters...."

Marta Haduch from the Mining and Gas Manufacturing Institute affirms that a good social program can best unite the people: "In order to win, you have to give," she will abruptly say.

Similar views are held by Eugeniusz Halo, a roller operator from the Lenin Heated Sheet Metal Mill: "...so they would know that the program is the one they themselves prepared. More succinctly, the program we ourselves prepared. I also think that we should not create anymore mirages for ourselves..."

Trade unions from onions? Trade unions from politics? There is protest in the group of young people with whom I am talking. They say that onions and potatoes have been divided. We have to focus on vital issues, immediately finding solutions.

What are we really talking about? About apartments, wages, the fair awarding of premiums, well organized work, weekend time off. But we are also talking about the everyday, the after work, the special protection which pensioners and retirees need....

"Listen, maybe I should just accurately read from our rules and regulations as to what we are supposed to do?" proposes Edward Gajewski. But he does not read, he talks. Among other things, that "the first blow has to strike those issues which are most sensitive. This means those which will not easily be completely solved.

"It is known that the professional trade unions do not have and will not have direct influence on whether there will be more apartments or not. But it can influence the fair distribution of apartments. For those who most need them. But now the other issue: wages. There are plans to reform wages. The talk is now about all people knowing what is what, so that they are not wronged."

Jozef Tokarski, a work brigade leader and repair ironworker from a coke-chemical plant, adds: "...professional trade unions really can and should include themselves in the plant's economic reform. Together with the workers' self-government, they should become the factory's joint manager...." Here, Jacek Bukowiecki adds: "...and it is important that they operate so that the plant's administration confirms that the unions are indispensable. Let us recall, there was once a period when trade unions were regarded as a fifth wheel on the wagon, but, because there was a directive from above.... Now, as I see it, it has to be one of typical partnership."

There are still no unions at Marta Hudach's institute. But: "There is nothing to wait for," she believes, "all the more so, that we are solving a very important problem ourselves for the institute. For years we have not been able to win a Miners' Charter for the workers. We want to get one."

Quickly, there is something specific: another example of someone fighting for something is presented by Janusz Waligorski: "...it seems to me that our workforce is satisfied with the new trade union. The Krakow Measuring Instruments Factory, Mera-KFAP, received a plan for wage reform at the beginning of January, but we have some reservations about it. We did not express agreement on its introduction. The unions' resolution was read over the radio, the workforce supported the issue and now management is 'sweating'."

At every turn, the subject returns: people are eager and not eager about the new trade unions. This group speaks of the time when it was very difficult for the union; how, in the beginning, it was necessary to overcome barriers of resistance, mistrust and hostility.... There were telephone calls, anonymous letters, fear and threats. People would avoid one another; others would refuse to shake hands in greeting. There was the boycotting of information meetings, notices were ripped off from boards, and someone's car tires were even damaged with a nail.

And how is it today? What has changed in the several months since the memorable date of the Sejm's resolution?

Unfortunately, expectations abound as before.

Whenever Marta Haduch raises the issue of the unions with her colleagues and workers at the institute, she often hears: "Maybe I would sign up, but I do not want to be the first one."

Indeed, some mature faster, others more slowly. This is what the people talking to me conclude. Besides, they themselves ask rhetorically: Who has to work? But they know that it is they who have to work. More specifically, people like them. If this time too the chance for the trade unions is ruined... These people also do not conceal that the large number of people who oppose the union worries them.

Edward Gajewski will say: "Neither the government nor the party are organizing these unions. It is enough to look at the letters of those who are joining. Are these people party members? Certainly; to an extent, party members are joining, because in the end, that is how it should be."

Jozef Tokarski further expands on this answer. He believes that the opinion of directives "from the top" came about because it is managers who call the meetings on the unions. "But these are really informational worker get-togethers. And who is supposed to have called them?" This idea is shared.

Bukowiecki, a specialist on technological matters from the Szadkowski, looks at the problem more extensively. He does not want to offend anyone, to be sure, but he believes that not everybody has been sufficiently informed as to what the economic reform will really be like.

"...If the reform really starts to work, then, unquestionably, everyone, no matter whether he works in a large or small plant, has to determine things for himself. It is well-known how economic mechanisms work! All workers, who are able to work exceptionally, have to cooperate with each other and support each other. And I do not imagine that people will conclude that an organization is not needed which will defend the interests of solely workers..."

Marta Handuch explains: "...in the moment when a group of trade unionists fights for something, then it is fighting in the interest of the entire workforce. A fair division of premiums is not only a concern for the trade unionists, nor is the distribution of apartments theirs only, that is.... But

it is my hope that in generally presenting the issue in such a manner, our group will grow..." Bukowiecki remarks: "...and in the end, it is not important who came to the unions from which organization. To present the issue so, that this guy is from the party, while that one is from Solidarity, or that this one is young, while that one is old, is ridiculous.... The important thing is that they will come, that they acknowledge that there has to be an organization, which would immediately and over time defend the workers from, as an example, an administration, behaving inappropriately. Anyone can ask: Why are we always talking about 'defending'? There is one reason: wherever economic rights enter the picture, there will always be a clash of interests. The result is that the interests of the employer are not always compatible with the interests of the employee. The rule to follow is that both come to an agreement. This is the role of the trade unions."

There are young people who speak about young people. Jan Waligorski answered with the opinion that "it is not the most important thing that people be divided according to age. Attitudes need to be evaluated. It is not true that only pensioners and retirees are joining the unions. In the unions, still not too numerous, the largest group of members is made up of 30-35 year olds. And especially these, who have already become part of the factory, have a substantiated point of view."

They share their experiences and observations with one another and exchange comments. One comment is already directed at the work. They do not expect commentaries from it concerning professional trade unions. In no case do they anticipate any recapitulation of any kinds of accomplishment. They want honest information. It should be information which allows one to read a newspaper, draw conclusions for himself and form an opinion concerning the article, interview or report. Then let people make their choices. Conscious choices are the most valuable.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Federalization of Trade Unions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 17 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by M.K.: "Federation?" under the rubric "Meeting of Construction Trade Unionists"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the source]

[Text] Yesterday was held a meeting of trade-union chairmen and representatives of trade-union founding committees from the construction plants of Bydgoszcz Province. The initiator and host of the meeting was the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Employees of BUDOPOL Construction Enterprise, whose chairman, Wladyslaw Ruczkowski, also chaired the meeting. The principal topic of the debate was preliminary discussion of the proposal--made by the recently formed initiating group--for appointing a national federation of construction-plant trade unions. The members of that group also include the chairmen of two trade unions from Bydgoszcz Province--at BUDOPOL and at the WSCHOD Bydgoszcz Construction Combine.

/The discussion led to appointing a province information-and-consultation team on construction trade unions, to be headquartered at the offices of the trade union at BUDOPOL (Bydgoszcz, ul. Marcinkowskiego 7). The team will receive within the next few weeks reports from individual trade unions about their eventual joining in the federation. This preliminary material will be transmitted to members of the national initiating group. It is expected that this information will be followed by official documents in the form of resolutions by trade unions or their boards (depending on the local union bylaws) to join the federation. At the same time, the unions will express their opinion on the draft statute of the federation, whose copies were distributed to the participants in yesterday's meeting./

The trade unionists also devoted much attention to current problems of trade-union activity. A particularly heated exchange of views was prompted by the issue of the unsatisfied yet serious housing needs of the personnel of enterprises specializing in or associated with construction. Various pertinent proposals were made and the standstill in implementing the provisions of The Worker's Charter concerning housing matters in Bydgoszcz Province was sharply criticized. In sum, this is one of the problems which the unions want to tackle through united effort.

/It was established that the team appointed yesterday would request the Bydgoszcz province governor to return to the construction trade unions the offices and assets of the section board of the former construction subsector trade union./

## Discussion of Trade Union Progress, Barriers

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 18 May 83 p 3

[Recorded and edited for publication by Janusz Klich: "Trade-Union Thresholds and Barriers" under the rubric "At the Editor's Desk"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Seven months have passed since the PRL Parliament had voted the new decree on trade unions, and 5 months since the renascent trade-union organizations at labor establishments were legally empowered to operate. However, there exist varied opinions on the situation of the renascent trade-union movement, indicating that the pace of its development and the first steps made by trade unionists at plants are of interest not just to the workforces alone. Trade unions continue to be spoken of in an emotional tone. Deliberate and calm opinions are rarely heard amidst this cacophony./

/Early this month more than 12,000 registered trade unions were active throughout the country, with 1,500 more awaiting approval by the courts. Together, they associated more than 2 million members, of whom about 70 percent were workers. Trade unions already operate in all major industrial plants in this country, and generally in more than 70 percent of all the plants authorized to form their own trade unions. In several subsectors these organizations have started attempting to form the first supra-plant structures--federations or national subsector trade unions. But it is also being said that the trade-union organizations are too small in numbers to act as a substantial determining factor in the process of the co-management of plants, and that they are too young to struggle effectively for the interests of workers. What is the actual situation in the trade-union movement compared with its formative period? What obstacles did and does it meet in its development? What evolution of the trade-union movement can we expect in the next few weeks and months?/

The questions posed above far from comprise the whole of the problems of our trade-union movement. They were simply the immediate reasons why we began a panel discussion with three chairmen of new trade unions in our region at the editorial offices of this newspaper. The chairmen were: Wlodzimierz Dudkiewicz, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) of the Employees of the Feltboard Factory in Przemyśl; Stanislaw Machos, deputy chairman of the NSZZ of the Employees of the Communications Equipment Plant in Rzeszow; and Wladyslaw Stepien, chairman of the NSZZ of Mining and Sulphur Processing Industry Workers at the SIARKOPOL Sulphur Mining and Processing Enterprise (KiZPS) in Tarnobrzeg. In this discussion with the trade unionists, our editors were represented by Jerzy Draganik and Janusz Klich. Below is the record of the discussion:

/EDITORS: Experience gained by the renascent trade-union movement in the few months since its formation teaches that a major factor in developing discrete plant trade unions, making them popular with the workforces and genuinely effective in dialogue with the management and other organizations at enterprises has been the time and form of the formation of initiating groups and founding committees, that is, of groups of individuals who assumed the burden of organizing trade unions. Since it was the unionists at SIARKOPOL who were the first to cope with this, we propose to give the floor to Pan Stepien. It should be added that it was also the unionists from SIARKOPOL who were the first in the region to apply for having their organization registered in a court. Has not this haste affected the growth of your union adversely?

WLADYSLAW STEPIEN: It so happened that I had been the deputy chairman of the founding committee for our union and experienced on my own skin the effects of that haste. Since many controversies have arisen concerning this issue, let me briefly explain what was involved. We had indeed met quickly, as soon as on 11 October of last year or 2 days after the information on the new decree was published. The meeting was initiated by our local Citizens' Committee for National Salvation [OKON] and social services commission. That founding meeting took place too soon for information about it to reach all employees and for this reason later, during briefing meetings, we received considerable criticism from the workforce. We had repeatedly pondered what to do next, and since the employees themselves had no suggestions to make, we decided to carry through this matter to the end and leave it all for subsequent consideration to the new officers elected at the general meeting of the delegates.

EDITORS; In connection with the controversies on the formation of the founding committee for your union has not another founding group arisen in SIARKOPOL?

W. STEPIEN: There was an attempt to organize a different group at MAZOWSZE Mine, but the persons who had initiated it came to an understanding with us and after they were shown the draft of our statute and the program of our union, they concluded that there would be no sense to duplication of effort. So in November we began jointly an information drive within the enterprise. It lasted 2 weeks and in principle no one questioned the expediency of establishing the trade union but--as I mentioned earlier--the manner in which it had been established was repeatedly criticized, which hardly helped us during that initial and perhaps most difficult period for us.

/EDITORS; Shouldn't we now let your colleagues speak?/

STANISLAW MACHOS: In my opinion, during the early stage of the organization of trade unions we made yet another major mistake consisting in that an atmosphere of unjustified applause arose around the newly forming trade unions. The party organizations and the management, which often became excessively involved in the formation of the trade union movement, did not always know how to help it. This movement had simply too many mentors at the beginning.

WLODZIMIERZ DUDKIEWICZ; ...Mentors who had often in good faith tried to give too much advice, which had subsequently a reverse effect.

/EDITORS: It should be borne in mind that the trade-union movement was conceived in the presence of an unusually difficult socio-political situation in this country. There was the resolute political enemy who had to be combatted also on the trade-union field. Thus it is not difficult to account for the interest of the party and the management in the trade-union situation at enterprises. They felt responsible for all that was happening among the workforce, which was perhaps understandable considering the threat that had then existed./

S. MACHOS: Of course, but I was speaking of cases in which such actions were too hasty and demonstrative--I was concerned with identifying aspects which did not help the trade unions. At our enterprise the beginnings were similar, although there was no such great haste as could later adversely affect the activities of the trade union. Since, however, we are speaking of obstacles, I have to mention a seemingly trivial accident which markedly influenced the organizational

condition of our union. After we had already accumulated a list of 1,200 trade-union members (at a time when the declaration had not yet been printed), the plant radio station broadcast a program reminding people about the plant's militarization and implying that in a militarized plant a trade union will have little to do. This caused a huge decline in our membership rolls--only 200 of us had remained. We protested sharply about this and we even received a telex message clarifying the position of the PZPR Central Committee in this matter, but the members whom we had lost had to be persuaded anew to rejoin the trade union, and many of them were simply lost to us for good....

### The Waiting Majority

W. DUDKIEWICZ: I understand that it is my turn to recollect the difficult beginnings of the trade union at our enterprise. Our union founding group was formed by PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activists and it handled the issues connected with the activities of the trade union until the founding committee was elected. By the end of last December we applied to a court for registration, and on 8 January our application was approved. These are formalities, and what perhaps counted more was the atmosphere itself in which we had to act, an atmosphere which--perhaps I'm using here bitter and excessively sharp words--was definitely unfriendly. Thus, there had been mistrust and sometimes even hostility. The joke was circulated: "Look, a handful of people had met--and all of a sudden they will form trade unions." Thus while everywhere else the hands of the aktiv of new trade unions were reckoned, at our plant their fingers were reckoned too. But those who had reckoned that we would fail to reach at our plant the prescribed size of membership, had overreckoned. Our organization grew gradually and to this day is slowly developing. I believe that we owe this to the implementation of our program, which benefits all employees regardless of whether they are or are not trade-union members.

W. STEPIEN: Let me dwell further on our difficult beginnings. Losses of membership were mentioned. Today we estimate that, owing to excessive haste, we lost at least 500 potential candidates for trade-union membership. For our briefing meetings were of a threefold nature. There were /silent/ meetings at which people listened what we had to tell them and left without asking questions. There were /tumultuous/ meetings at which we were simply tortured by accusations, questions about our social and moral legitimacy as creators of a trade union. And there also were /practical/ meetings at which people showed interest in the affairs of the trade union and considered how to ensure its credibility and genuine independence from the management. Our workforce, like the entire society, consists of three groups. The first supports every healthy initiative, and I would place within it the roughly 2,000 members of our trade union. The second is still /waiting/ to see what our union will accomplish and whether it will be indeed self-governing and credible. We can still count on these people. And lastly there is the third group of people who will not soon join our union because they are still opposed to everything that is happening among us and to promoting the process of stabilization.

To all whom we try to convince of the sincerity of our intention we offer the fundamental argument that all that had been done well by the previous trade unions should be continued, that the movement's accomplishments in favor of socialist renewal should not be forfeited, because they are accomplishments of the working class. On 26 February of this year we finally held a meeting of delegates at which, in a completely democratic atmosphere, we elected new officers. I believe that this meeting had finally crowned with success the

efforts of the founders of the union. Of the eight members of the founding committee who had been nominated to the trade union, seven accepted the nomination and all were re-elected to their union mandates.

#### Work Instead of Gestures and Words

/EDITORS: We are thus in a new highly important stage of the development of trade-union organizations, the stage of /general program-election meetings/. As we know, these meetings have been taking place everywhere in consonance with the democratic achievements of the trade-union movement: they have been authentic and sincere and discussion at them has been marked by concern for the future shape of trade-union organizations, for the interests of workers, for the destiny of enterprises and their workforces. These meetings should help promote good opinion about trade unions among workforces. Has this also taken place at your enterprises?

W. STEPIEN: On the day the election meeting was held we already had 1,460 members, that is since then the membership of our organization has grown by more than 500 and is consistently if slowly continuing to grow. But I would not underestimate the role of that meeting itself and of the democracy reigning at it. Equally important was the /union's program/ adopted at that meeting as well as its consistent implementation, and also the everyday work of trade union activists to solve the personal problems of individual employees.

W. DUDKIEWICZ: My colleague has hit the nail on the head. We can convince most of the waiting majority not by gestures or words but only by deeds. We had started work at once. The meeting had bound us to establish a housing cooperative at the plant. We want to found an organizational committee for that cooperative this month, so that a start may be made in building the three planned housing projects, each to provide 117 apartments. This is concrete action. We also proposed major revisions in the existing wage system, which were adopted to the benefit of persons who work well. Lastly, we began to be solidly concerned with social services and safety and hygiene of labor. People see this and even if this still is not evident in any large increase in the rolls of union membership, it certainly makes them think. We do not aim at a rapid attainment of 100-percent membership of the workforce in the trade union, because this is not the point and it would be better if the members were fewer in numbers but only those who join of their own decision; this would be preferable to a mass organization of passive members. What is important at present is the workforce's acceptance of our goals and everyday accomplishments.

W. STEPIEN: We too realized that our acceptance as a trade union in the full meaning of the word hinges on our doing three things: doing something effective about plant-sponsored housing construction (we have a specific program of action here); bringing into order the infrastructure of housing projects (lean-tos, garages, playgrounds for children); and complete the review of the conditions and organization of labor in all departments from the standpoint of safety and hygiene of labor, with subsequent implementation of a program for improving these conditions. But these are actions slated for the--near and far--future, and what counts at present is what we are specifically doing to help employees with their personal problems. People are coming to us for help, for where else will they go? So we help them, regardless of whether they are or aren't union members. After all, we cannot send away anyone empty-handed.

To settle these problems more rapidly, we asked the management to appoint a joint mixed commission for solving employee problems (such as, at least, granting help from the workforce fund for social services). In this connection, we have a sub-commission for these problems, whose members will represent us in that joint commission.

/EDITORS: But this will result in dual competences. You could in this way form a supra-union structure which, as the employees will interpret it, will have more clout than the trade union, and the unionists themselves may later complain to you about it./

W. STEPIEN: We ourselves aren't sure whether we might be making a mistake. But this solution could be of an interim nature, and we don't wish to produce the impression that we are usurping--in the name of the minority--the right to decide on issues of concern to the entire workforce. /The registration deadline for joining the trade unions is 31 May for all those who wish to preserve their union seniority./ After that we will finally know how big our membership will be and, in this connection, what programs for the protection of the rights of our members are to be adopted.

S. MACHOS: We decided that there are functions in which we can't interfere. At the plant there are people who get paid for attending to them. The whole of these matters is specified in the pertinent regulations which were, on our suggestion, drafted and adapted to actual needs. In this way, we have agreement in principle with the worker services at the enterprise and don't go into detail. In such matters no one is discriminated against if he happens to be not a union member. The trade union must defend the interests of its members, and on occasion also those of other employees--it must represent a force which will influence the entire workforce. At present, we have more than 2,000 members out of a workforce of 12,000. This might seem little, but even now we are told that the trade union keeps its finger on the pulse, that the management will not find it easy if it tries to restrict the rights and interests of the employees. Such opinions are highly important to us, because they show that the trade union is indeed considered influential.

W. STEPIEN: Of course, we also have programs and are not doing anything that worker services already are doing. It should be borne in mind, however, that nowadays people are very sensitive to any kind of pressure, and the trade union could--and surely soon will--in behalf of its members, pressure the enterprise management. But if we had tried not so long ago to, e.g. make joining the union a precondition for granting an admission card to bioenergotherapeutical treatment by Mr. Nardelli (which we had organized), this would surely have been condemned by the workforce. We could not do it, if only for the sake of the good name of our union. Thus we immediately began to try to obtain a sufficient number of admission cards for all union members truly needing such help and for other employees. We try to view in the same way all other problems of the workforce.

#### Rights of Trade Unionists

W. DUDKIEWICZ: I would like to discuss the cooperation between trade unions and worker self-government bodies, which--at our enterprise, for example, is far from satisfactory. This due to--in my opinion--the fact that the worker council at our enterprise consists of people who tend to be nay-sayers about too many matters. It became active before the trade union was established at our plant, and, day after day, it is attempting in an ingenious manner to take over our competences. At the very outset the council wanted to play a trick on us and

appoint a social services and work commission. We appealed this to the Social Advisory Commission for Trade Unions under the Council of State, which replied that such commissions cannot have the rights of trade unions, but the problem of reaching an agreement with the worker council is stalled. Generally speaking, a similar situation exists in 31 enterprises of our subsector. The management is inclined to cooperate more with worker self-government bodies than with trade unions. All this places us in a very difficult situation in the eyes of the workforce.

EDITORS: /We can explain here, or rather confirm what you already know, that the decree on worker self-government does not grant its bodies the right to exclusive decisionmaking. The whole problem arose simply out of lack of familiarity with or improper interpretation of regulations. But you seem to have a copy of these regulations with you and want to make a specific proposal, don't you?

W. DUDKIEWICZ: Yes. The point is that /trade unionists should be protected by the same rights/ as those granted by the decree on worker self-government to self-government bodies. This means, in particular, that an enterprise then couldn't void its labor contract--excepting cases in which this can be done without prior notice--with an ex-officer of a trade union or revise that contract to the disadvantage of the unionist. Unionists should receive this protection over the same period of time following the expiration of their term of office as is granted to self-government activists. This proposal is being continually made by trade-union activists, and it has not yet been accepted but it should. After all, to this day many trade-union activists simply fear to oppose the existing arrangements at enterprises and live under mental pressure by the foreman or the manager.

S. MACHOS: Let's plainly term it--because it often is--/an atmosphere of moral and financial terror/, because if a person happens to "displease" the representatives of so-called middle-level supervisory personnel, many of whom still are unfavorably disposed toward the new trade unions, he can also be hurt financially. These supervisors influence the workforce directly and, in many cases known to me, they influence it against us as much as they can. That is, by both explicit comments and discreet creation of an atmosphere of isolation around us. Surely, everyone of us here could cite examples of departments where he met with no support for forming trade-union cells. This points to something, but we can and will wait it out....

/EDITORS: Perhaps we should end our discussion now, because it has been recorded in such detail that surely there will be no room left for all the ideas and concrete examples mentioned. We also know that each of your trade unions is attempting to unite with colleagues in its subsector into federated supra-plant trade union organizations. There is not enough time left to discuss this matter exhaustively today. But we suggest that each of you present his personal forecast of the development of the trade-union movement, as a way of culminating our discussion./

W. STEPIEN: So that we wouldn't all be speaking of the same thing, let me begin with the last question raised. We are aware that thousands of trade-union organizations can and should be formed by 1 January 1984, and hence it will be simply impossible for the authorities to consult about anything. Thus, the formation of supra-plant union structures at present is a most important need of not so much the /unionists themselves/ as representatives of the /authorities/. It is readily seen, too, that wherever trade union organizations in particular subsectors are numerous and strong, /federations/ of new unions will be formed

there, because the unions are extremely reluctant to lose their currently acquired /legal entity/, that is, complete ability for independent action.

W. DUDKIEWICZ: We also are aware that it will take a very long time if ever for us as trade unions to attain such a large membership as that of the previous central trade unions. But as we remember, in the times of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ) and Solidarity mass membership had been treated as an end in itself. We don't wish to return to these methods and we are waiting until people join us on their own. The process of the numerical growth of our unions will be slow, but this is advantageous to the entire movement, since it can be formed for the first time in many years on the principle of conscious and mature choice to join. In the future, this should become our great asset.

S. MACHOS: It is good that we don't consider as problem number one the issue of the quantitative growth of trade unions. For many people have already been convinced about the justness of our undertakings and wish them well. After all, our trade union organizations are new and contain new people. In the thick of complex human problems we are moving, to be sure, /in small steps/, but we are moving continually /forward/. For some time now we no longer lose members and sympathizers and instead gain more and more new ones. This happens because we are not keeping anyone against his will and neither do we propagandize. In such an atmosphere, those who vacillate should continue to join us, because in time we shall be able to offer them more and more.

#### Local Information-Advisory Groups on Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 10 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (B): "Local Information-Advisory Teams and Their Duties" under the rubric "The Trade Union Movement"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] (OWN INFORMATION.) On 18 [May 83] representatives of newly appointed information-advisory teams for trade-union affairs in Lublin Province held a meeting in Lublin. These public bodies, affiliated with people's councils, operate in 10 cities and city-gminas and provide various assistance to trade unions.

Such teams operate in: Bychawa, Deblin, Krasnik, Lubartow, Lublin, Leczna, Opole Lubelskie, Ostro Lubelski, Pulawy and Ryki.

The meeting discussed the extent to which the civic nature of the teams enables them to provide consistent and solid support to the trade-union movement in the form of legal advice, moral and organizational help and favorable publicity.

/In addition, the duties of the teams were catalogued in detail, on mentioning in this connection the monitoring of the situation in trade unions. The frequent unfamiliarity of unionists with the basic provisions of laws governing the trade-union movement was emphasized, as was their unfamiliarity with drafting bylaws and formulating resolutions, which confers even greater urgency on the help to be provided to unions by the information-advisory teams. Much was also said about the organizational and technical difficulties encountered by plant trade-union organizations in conducting bookkeeping, disbursing properly loans and allowances and determining the salary principles for workers delegated to paid union work./



/Much attention was devoted to the role of party members in trade unions. On the one hand, they should function in trade union organizations so as in no way to impair the statutory principle of the autonomy and self-government of trade unions, but on the other hand they should safeguard by their attitude the inviolability of the political principle that the party plays the leading role vis a vis the trade-union movement./

As the next item on the agenda, Janina Pasternak, chairperson of the Section for the Registration of Trade Unions at the Province Court in Lublin, discussed aspects of the acquisition of legal entity by trade unions.

/During the meeting, those present were also briefed about the situation of the trade-union movement in Lublin Province. Of the 680 labor establishments in the province at which trade unions can be formed, so far trade unions have been formed in 350, with several dozen more still applying for registration./ At the same time, charter-member teams already operate in 183 of the remaining plants, and in 152 of these plants they have already given way to founding committees. According to data as of 13 June of this year [as published], trade unions in the work establishments of Lublin Province had a combined membership of 41,000. /At the Truck Factory (FSC) 2,600 persons (out of a workforce of 9,128 [or 3,128--the first digit is illegible]) joined the unions; at the Swidnik Transportation Equipment Plant (WSK), 2,980 (out of 8,000); at the Krasnik PLT [expansion unknown], 2,300 (out of 7,100); at the Pulawy ZA [expansion unknown], 372 (out of 5,180); and at the EDA ZZSP [expansion unknown] in Poniatow, 725 (out of 4,240)./ Most trade unions operate in the branches: "industry" (89); and "science, education, upbringing" (59); and the least, in the branch "health service" (34).

#### Polskie Radio About Trade Unions

On Saturday 21 May Polskie Radio will broadcast on channel 1 an all-day program, "From Eight Till Eight," devoted to trade unions, in which trade unionists from various regions of the country and members of advisory commissions will take part. Special telephones will be put into operation at all stations of Polskie Radio so that the listeners themselves will be enabled to participate in the program.

The number of the telephone in Lublin is 280-65. /It will be in operation from 8 till 12./

The authors intend to offer a kind of report on the status of the trade-union movement and public wishes concerning it. Reporter stations at which anyone can present his views in front of a microphone will be installed in several cities, recreational areas and also at certain plants operating on this free Saturday.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY-TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Work, Social Security Developments

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Jadczak: "In the Interest of the Worker, in the Interest of the Work Establishment"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /More than 8 years ago, to be exact, on 1 January 1975, a special court system for labor and social security had been set up in our country. This measure represented, so to speak, a response of the authorities to the growing volume of litigation concerning labor contracts and social security./

The labor and social security courts are of two-echelon kind. In four provinces of our region the /first-echelon bodies concerning labor relations are:/ 760 plant labor arbitration commissions, 13 local arbitration commissions [TKR] and 13 local appeals commissions for labor [TKO] (with seats in the following localities: Biala Podlaska, Bilgoraj, Hrubieszow, Chelm, Krasnystaw, Krasnik, Lubartow, Lublin, Pulawy, Radzyn Podlaski, Tomaszow Lubelski, Wlodawa and Zamosc), while the first-echelon agencies on social security are: 4 province ZUS [Social Security Administration] branches in Bilgoraj, Chelm, Lublin and Radzyn Podlaski, 4 military commissions on annuities, 4 militia commissions on annuities, 1 railroad commission on annuities, and 1 commission on prison guards' annuities. The second echelon is represented by the District Court for Labor and Social Security in Lublin.

In the course of its 8 years of activity the District Court for Labor and Social Security considered 23,450 cases. Thirty percent concerned claims ensuing from labor relationship and 70 percent, social security claims. These proportions of cases submitted to the District Court for Labor and Social Security are socially significant. Most disputes about labor relationship are settled on the spot in work establishments, even if--as I will show later--this is not done to an adequate degree. An employee does not necessarily have to resort to litigation in courts; often, if his job does not suit him, he changes it as a way of resolving the dispute. On the other hand, consistently high number of court cases concerning old-age pensions, annuities, etc. points to poor performance of ZUS branches.

These proportions changed little even last year, which was a year when, owing to the proclamation of martial law and application of the economic reform, labor relations differed from those in the preceding years. However, the special conditions of last year resulted in a 50-percent increase in cases submitted to the District Court for Labor and Social Security, compared with 1981.

Let us consider these cases more closely.

## Concerning Labor....

The labor law code is one of those branches of law which has been fairly widely modified during the period of martial law. In particular, the regulations governing the duties of the employees of militarized establishments were altered. The required rigorous attitude toward evaluating the performance of duties by employees and the instances of failure to conform to martial law regulations, as well as the introduction of the economic reform and the attendant personnel reductions and transfers, all have caused a long-unprecedented increase in cases submitted to local appeals commissions for labor [TKO] (2,212 cases in 1981, 3,416 in 1982) and local arbitration commissions [TKR] (301 cases in 1981, 534 in 1982). As for the District Court for Labor and Social Security, it handled 750 appeals against decisions of TKOs for labor, 112 against decisions of TKRs, and 153 against decisions of plant arbitration commissions.

Of the more than 1,000 cases concerning labor relationship scheduled last year on the calendar of the District Court for Labor and Social Security, more than half originated from Lublin Province; 18 percent each from Biala Podlaska and Zamosc provinces; and 11 percent from Chelm Province. These proportions are worth noting. The sizable position of Lublin Province is due to the large number of work establishments and workforces in the socialized sector in that province. But in its turn, the large number of labor disputes in the weakly industrialized Zamosc and Biala Podlaska provinces is perplexing. This does not reflect well on the performance of employee cells in work establishments of both these provinces, and it points to a poor performance of legal advisers.

/Most of the labor cases on the docket of the District Court for Labor and Social Security concern the dissolution of labor relationship and particularly the termination of labor contracts./ The reasons for the termination vary: improper execution of job obligations; careless performance of job activities; low work productivity, conflicts, reduction in force, plant reorganization, alcoholism, unexcused departure from work, causing defective production, etc.

/Another form of job termination--and the most-litigated one--is dismissal of an employee without notice./ Last year the number of such cases considered by the court had tripled in comparison with 1981. This was due to the domestic situation--such was the procedure followed in dismissing employees for, chiefly, drinking on the job, causing defective production or participating in strikes.

Yet another group of labor disputes recognized by the District Court for Labor and Social Security is /wage-dispute cases/. These concern chiefly distribution of bonuses, awards, plant fund, etc. Last year there were fewer such cases than in 1981. The next group of disputes /concerns notices of cancellation of labor and wage conditions/.

Analysis of the cases on the court docket suggests a tentative answer to the question of /what are their causative factors?/ In the opinion of Boleslaw Grabski, chairman of the District Court for Labor and Social Security in Lublin, labor disputes arise as a result of problems in interpreting and explicating the applicability of laws as well as of the inaccessibility of information on some legal provisions at work establishments. The disputes also originate from changes of regulations and organizational changes at enterprises, the rapid turnover of workforces, the improper attitude and poor discipline of some

employees, the endeavor of employee groups to make claims that are either unjustified or not based on any applicable legal provisions. This also concerns the inability to resolve conflicts at, especially, smaller labor establishments and the failure to consult legal advisers and benefit from their knowledge, and also the unwillingness of both parties to come to an agreement.

As a result, proceedings are instituted at the TKO and subsequently in court. Time, nerves and money are lost, because instead of being resolved on the spot in the labor establishment, the case is dragged outside. /Both parties--the employee and the labor establishment--rarely follow the paramount principle of the labor law code, namely, the out-of-court settlement of the case./

Chairman Grabski declared: /"A case should come up before court only when it involves considerable doubts or gives birth to major legal questions, or when the legal provisions are unclear, but not when it is trivial and can be readily settled in the labor establishment itself. Once, however, the case is submitted to a first- or second-echelon body, both parties should show good will in having it settled instead of being litigious."/

The next question I asked of chairman Grabski concerned the /effectiveness of employee appeals/. It turns out that in cases of notices of termination of labor contracts, 10 percent of the court's verdicts are in favor of the employee and 52 percent in favor of the work establishment, with the remainder providing for settlement of the case in some other way--through mutual agreement or investigation. In cases of termination of labor contracts without advance notice, 23 percent of the verdicts are in favor of the employee and 43 percent in favor of the work establishment; similar proportions apply in cases concerning labor remuneration.

#### Old-Age Pensions, Annuities....

The influx of cases concerning social security is somewhat different. Thirty-eight percent of such cases received by the District Court for Labor and Social Security are linked to the Lublin Branch of the ZUS; 22 percent, to the Bilgoraj Branch; 20 percent, to the Radzyn Branch; and 12 percent, to the Chelm Branch. The predominance of Lublin here is not as substantial as for cases concerning labor disputes, particularly when the population of Lublin Province and the number of cases handled by the Lublin ZUS are considered. The large number of cases from Bilgoraj and Radzyn points to the poor performance of these branches.

What is the nature of social-security disputes? /Most cases on the court docket concern the granting of supplementary disability pensions in addition to the regular universal old-age pension, followed in this order by disputes concerning old-age pensions, war-related or military annuities, annuities for farmers who transfer their land to ownership by the state, and lastly accident insurance./

The court's verdicts in appeals for granting disability pensions or universal old-age pensions are in favor of the employee in 48 percent of cases, while 44 percent of cases are dismissed. As regards petitions for old-age pension, the court's verdict are in favor of the petitioner in 36 percent of cases, while 50 percent are dismissed. A much larger proportion--about two-thirds--of the petitions for war-related and military annuities is dismissed. Here the decisive factor is the time elapsed since the war, lack of witnesses, etc.

## What Will the Labor-Law Judiciary Be Like?

The District Court for Labor and Social Security consists of 9 professional judges plus a group of over 160 councilors. /In addition to issuing verdicts, the judges engage in important preventive activities/ such as meetings with plant workforces in order to explain and clarify the provisions of the labor law code, training of the staffs of counseling departments, conferences and training courses for members of TKO and TKR for the purpose of preserving uniformity of verdicts. At least once a year the chairman of the District Court for Labor and Social Security schedules a general convocation of judges in order to discuss court activities and proposals to counteract the rise of labor and social-security disputes. Such a convocation was recently held in Lublin.

During that convocation the future tasks of the court were discussed and the following directions of action outlined. This concerns maintaining the extremely high--compared with the nation-wide average--efficiency of the Lublin court, improving the context of verdicts, disseminating broad information about the labor law code effective during the martial law period, issuing verdicts in support of those plant-management decisions which are intended to assure and maintain work discipline, protecting justified interests of employees, and granting assistance to first-echelon commissions.

These tasks will be implemented by the courts this year. But what courts? What is meant here is that work is under way to include the handling of labor disputes in the civil court system. On the other hand, many are in favor of keeping the labor courts separate. At this time the question is being discussed by Parliamentary deputies and, among others, the province teams of Parliamentary deputies are going to take a position on this issue.

## Party Activities in Plants

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 27 Apr 83 pp 3,4

[Article by Andrzej Cudak: "Without any Formula" under the rubric "The Party at the Plant"]

[Text] There is no formula for a good party organization. The precept of the leading role of the party has to have a context proper for time and place and a program that is, moreover, implemented in an appropriate form. In recent months the issue of the party at the plant has more than once been overshadowed by the nascent trade unions or reactivated worker self-governments. But the basic party organization [POP] must have its niche in the plant landscape. What should be done to make it a genuine niche? I asked this question at the outset to comrades from the party organization at the Meat Processing Works in Gorzow, whom I had requested to interview.

JANUSZ KLATA (senior foreman in processing department): Perhaps the most important thing is that the party should not try to rule the plant. It should inspire tasks and monitor their implementation, and it should determine these tasks by listening to the opinions of the personnel of various departments. It should focus on shortcomings and needs, e.g. as regards better social services and working conditions or the relations between the management and the workforce. It should present to the management appropriate proposals for solutions and demand their implementation. Only then can the party count on recovering public trust.

ZBIGNIEW KOZAJDA (second secretary of the POP, director of parts supply department): At this time our problem number one is completing the modernization. For more than 35 years the plant's superior organization, the District Enterprise of the Meat Industry in Zielona Gora, has done nothing about it. The modernization was proposed precisely by the party organization and the present management. This program was boldly prepared and is being carried out. A new administration and social services building has been erected after 8 years of construction, as have been a new canteen, a canteen in the production department, and locker rooms. In addition, new production premises are under construction. It has also been possible to raise wages, even though we ourselves do not determine the prices of our products.

CZESLAW STANCZYK (director): There is no prescription for a good party organization. Its activists must always relate to the situation existing at our plant. With us the most important thing was to rally the workforce round joint work. As late as until the winter of 1981/1982 a majority of the workforce had been opposed to the modernization. At present the employees consider it indispensable. The credit for this largely belongs to the POP. Appropriate co-partnership is bearing fruit.

ZBIGNIEW KOZAJDA: It seems to me that a factor that has a bearing on the present place of the party organization in the plant is the fact that we endured that worst period without considerable loss of membership. Of the 560 employees in Gorzow 72 are at present party members. During the current term of office only one member has resigned, giving the steep dues as the reason. This is so even though 98 percent of the workforce used to belong to Solidarity. There were various controversies, too, but the stage of open conflict had not been reached. We reached an agreement through discussion. In effect, we emerged in a strong position. The workforce is undergoing further consolidation. On 28 March we held a meeting (a semi-public meeting, properly speaking) attended by the director of the enterprise in Zielona Gora and representatives of the city and province PZPR committees, to which more than 60 persons came, with the workers themselves demanding separation from Zielona Gora. Properly speaking, they came to make sure that we will proceed with the modernization and represent their wishes. This is something to rejoice about.

ANDRZEJ CUDAK: The issue of representing the vital interests of the workforces probably requires no further discussion here. The support enjoyed in this respect by the POP is understandable, but the party organization is also shouldering the burden of various tasks relating to the application to our own plant of the resolutions or, e.g. more or less general opinions of other party organizations. This concerns, say, the far from imaginary problem of the quality of cured meats and meat products. This surely is a more difficult problem....

JANUSZ KLATA: Party meetings have often considered the issue of quality as well as of defective production. After all, we are processing meat, which is constantly in short supply. We steadily attempt to improve the quality of products. We have had 47 inspections by the State Trade Inspectorate [PIH] and other institutions at our plant, and in addition we ourselves introduced the tasting of our products by representatives of the workforces of Gorzow labor establishments so that they would suggest which products should be discontinued and which improved. In addition, there are the spot checks....

CZESLAW STANCZYK: Comrades, remember the fall of 1980 and the beginning of 1981, when at every party meeting it was stated that we as the workforce are ashamed to

admit that we work in the meat processing plant, because our products were so bad. This too had been discussed. It was precisely then that the idea of those tasting fairs had been conceived. But since last year a quantitative and qualitative program for the production of cured meats has been followed at the plant. It requires of us continuous upkeep of the efficiency of operation of all machinery and equipment, a standardized variety of output and the advancement of the skills of the workforce.

ANDRZEJ CUDAK: Life itself requires that these matters be attended to, but how are the comrades coping with the implementation of the party line recorded in the party statute and the resolutions of the party congress and plenary party sessions? It is said that the implementation of all these directives requires focusing on party work alone.

ZDZISLAW KRAWCZYK (first secretary of the POP, chief mechanic): Best of all, let me tell you how it looks in practice at our plant. I attend meetings at the city party committee where we are briefed about the socio-political situation and given guidelines for work. I pass on that information to the executive board and we adapt all resolutions to our plant. We try to de-emphasize big politics and focus on matters of concern to the plant workforce. Currently we are concentrating on the conservation and anti-inflation programs. A commission for studying the problem has been appointed. Its report will be opined upon by the executive board. In addition, suggestions for conservation that have been transmitted to the management will be offered at an open meeting of the POP. Furthermore, I'm in continuous contact with people. I've been working at this plant for 11 years. I know the employees, and they know me too. We try to rely less on memos and orders and more on personal contacts with the workforce.

CZESLAW STANCZYK: A large number of resolutions is now being drafted. But not everything can be passed on "as is" to our workforce. Points of contact assuring some continuity in the work of the party organization have to be located. Of course, something like the conservation program presents no difficulty—we have been implementing for years something similar at this plant. I refer to improvements in the post-slaughter indicator and the savings of 32 million zlotys in procurement expenses last year: last year we procured 25,000 head of fattened livestock per month but only 41 head died of disease in the year as a whole. There also exists other potential to be exploited.

ZBIGNIEW KOZAJDA: But nothing should be done by force. This is clearly exemplified by the establishment of the trade unions. Last October an information meeting was held. For 3 months the trade unions were formed without any administrative fiat. On 8 February they already had 130 members, on 4 March they were registered, and on 16 March the union groups from Dobiegniew and Gorzow achieved a merger. The elections are over, the board is operating normally and no one within the workforce is saying that the director or the party had founded the trade unions. This is an important factor.

ANDRZEJ CUDAK: I'm only perturbed about one thing: in all our conversation so far we have been overlooking ideological problems. I'm inclined to believe that at our plant the situation is far from optimal in this respect. And yet the party should educate....

ZBIGNIEW KOZAJDA: We feel that we've crossed a certain boundary by focusing on economic matters during the current era of the economic reform and leaving ideology aside. Generally speaking, it may be that the entire party has

committed too much attention to the economy. We must focus on neglected matters. Now, for example, we are settling on the premises of Marxism-Leninism as a topic for our training courses. This is necessary in order that the party member again feel himself a communist. These foundations must be rebuilt.

ANDRZEJ CUDAK: How can all this be done in practice. Thus let us concentrate on forms of party work at the plant. It is now customary for the POP meeting to be nearly the sole such form, along with an occasional session of the executive board or the participation of the party secretary in management conferences or representation of the party on other occasions.

ZBIGNIEW KOZAJDA: There are more such forms. Let me give a personal example concerning the results of activities associated with my position (because people observe us and call us "Reds," although this slowly ceases to be an epithet), and primarily the giving of explanations and holding of talks with people. Many questions still continue to be asked and many doubts expressed regarding, e.g. the reform and the three "S's" ["Samodzielność, Samorządność, Samofinansowanie"--autonomy, self-government and self-financing, at enterprises]. Even so, people could have been asking more questions and so we ourselves have to start the ball rolling. We did so, for example, by providing information on trade unions without exerting any additional pressures.

ANDRZEJ CUDAK: There are more than 70 of you, party members. This is a lot, for a workforce of 560. Are all the party members at the plant representative of the party, and are they all implementing particular party tasks? I have the impression that the "custom" of party tasks has withered....

CZESLAW STANCZYK: It has, a long time ago. I used to work in Gdynia and was a social activist....I know from experience that the tasks had never accomplished their purpose, because they were directive-type tasks. Here at our plant individual party members are assigned tasks, that is, matters that have to be settled. But such tasks must ensue from a natural need to carry something out. This brings us back to the problem of being a good party member. Should one nowadays follow the stereotype of the good party member? The old patterns have decayed. Today it is being said that the most praiseworthy person is he who does his work honestly and attracts some people. But authority cannot be recovered by force; it has to be naturally built up. For this reason, among others, we regard meetings as merely a forum for exchange of opinions, believing that our real work is done outside meetings.

ANDRZEJ CUDAK: But tell me how many party members can be actually counted upon? What group is being enlisted for party work?

ZBIGNIEW KOZAJDA: Of a certainty, about one-half of the membership. There used to be fewer such active members but now their number is slowly growing. But let me go back once more to the topic of meetings and training courses. Last year we conducted no special training courses, although training issues were raised at party meetings. We didn't want to focus on statistics for their own sake. This would have served no purpose except adding to the committee's paperwork. We resolved to follow this policy for the present year too. At each meeting we allocate 20 minutes for a topic prepared by our lecturer or conducted by a lecturer from the committee, our aim being to engage in genuine discussion rather than in a monologue. Unless discussion develops, it clearly cannot last, or the topic may be reintroduced.



ANDRZEJ CUDAK: To end this conversation, which surely does not exhaust the problem, I have to ask about party propaganda, the more so as I saw no signs of it while walking across the plant square. How can propaganda be done well in an organization such as yours?

JANUSZ KLATA: To be sure, no signs of it can be seen outside the plant, but that square is, properly speaking, a construction site. Billboards used to stand there. But nowadays a poster drive has to be launched slowly and with caution and not too energetically. The propaganda has at first to be limited to the plant's own accomplishments. Prior to the May 1 holiday we will renovate the billboard bearing the names of "good workers." In this connection, we will really honor the best workers rather than just party members. Because what matters to us after all is that we should not become alienated from the workforce. We as the party want to be with them and not above them.

#### Party Organization Involvement in Economizing

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 27 Apr 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (sf): "Count Every Zloty, Every Minute of Work" under the rubric "At Party Organizations"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /More and more party organizations are stressing economical management at the plants in which they are active. The impetus for more concrete work on plant conservation programs will be provided by the resolution of the recent plenum of the Zielona Gora Province PZPR Committee. As we noted previously, that resolution outlines the directions and tasks of party echelons and organizations in implementing the government conservation and anti-inflation program./

At some work establishments specific action has already been taken to implement their own plant programs. At the Sulechowski PRODWOROL Works a meeting of the basic party organization [POP] attended by Jerzy Dabrowski, first secretary of the province party committee, discussed the draft conservation program for the plant. The following proposals were made during the discussion: reducing the overall production cost so as to save about 20 million zlotys; reducing the materials-intensiveness indicator by about 5 percent without detriment to a high quality of products; improve the technology of the application of paint coatings to the outside and inside walls of collecting tanks; determine the extent of the utilization of materials in discrete products and, on the basis of an analysis, reduce their consumption indicators. The plant management was placed under the obligation of reducing the administrative staff,

At a session of the /executive board of the Gozdnica City-Gmina PZPR Committee/ the conservation and anti-inflation program of the Gozdnica Construction Ceramics Plant/ was accepted. Special attention is devoted in that program to materials management, the modernization of individual departments of the enterprise and manpower and wage problems.

The program stresses the need to modernize the plant in such a way as to markedly increase its output and improve the working conditions of its workforce within the next 3 years. Plans exist to start the production of perforated and shaped clinker. To improve the quality of products, slate from the NOWA RUDA Coal Mine will be utilized in production. After the access track for the transportation of bricks from the Ruszow-Szklarnia Works is opened, railroad

rolling stock will be used in lieu of trucks, which should produce considerable savings. This program will be approved in its final version by the enterprise's worker council following its consultation with the workforce at open meetings of the plant party organizations.

At a meeting of the POP of the State [Agricultural] Machine Center [POM] in Szprotawa it was calculated that the implementation of its plant conservation program should produce savings of 190,000 zlotys this year and 310,000 in 1984, chiefly through reduced consumption of raw and other materials. The POM's management was placed under the obligation of selling obsolete vehicles.

In the village of Grotow, Trzebiel Gmina [Parish], party members discussed at a POP meeting the progress of spring field operations, which has been very good owing to adequate preparation of equipment and true summer weather. On the occasion, complaints were made about the Gmina Cooperative [GS] Board because for some time now the GS store has been refusing to purchase eggs and instances of sale of freezers outside the store were brought to light. The basic party organization in that village asked the GS chairman to investigate the matter and provide an explanation.

#### Creation of Trade Union Federation

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by (A. L.) "Meeting the Social Needs" under the rubric "First Trade-Union Federation Founding Committee in Wielkopolska"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /OWN INFORMATION. The organization of the trade-union movement in our country has entered upon a new stage somewhat earlier than had been scheduled. This is proof of the growing public interest as well as of the growth in activism of the trade-union organizations themselves./

On the basis of the applicable decisions of the state authorities permitting the formation of trade-union federations, steps were taken in Wielkopolska to establish the first supra-plant structures of the trade-union movement.

Last Monday representatives of trade unions from 15 work establishments in Wielkopolska gathered in the offices of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Metal Industry Employees at the H. Cegielski Works in Poznan [HCP] and expressed the wish to establish the /Federation of the Trade Unions of Metal Industry Employees/. The initiative in establishing this supra-plant trade-union structure belongs to the HCP, but soon afterward this issue was raised and supported by many other plants of the metal subsector, including the POMET Metallurgical Works, the WIEPOFAMA Wielkopolska Machinery Factory, the POLMO-TARPAN [Expansion unknown] Plant, the Ball Bearings Factory, and others.

A 11-member Founding Committee was elected and authorized to take whatever steps are needed in behalf of the nascent Federation. The most urgent tasks include drafting the Federation's statute and briefing other plants in the subsector about the related work. This is because the number of signatories so far is insufficient to make the Federation eligible for becoming a legal entity through registration at the Province Court. Before this can be accomplished the Federation must associate at least 50 trade unions from various plants.

At the same time, this is to notify concerned parties that the office of representatives of the Federation's Founding Committee is located on 3 Gwardia Ludowa Street and its telephone numbers are 33-55-11 and 33-25-47.

#### Metallurgists Creating Trade Union Federation

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 29-30 Apr-1 May 83 p 13

[Unsigned article: "Metallurgists Intend to Establish a Federation of Their Trade Unions: E. Ksiazkiewicz from the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant to be the Presidium Chairman"]

[Text] On 28 [April 1983] at the Metallurgical Combine Lenin Iron and Steel Plant representatives of 90 trade unions from metallurgical enterprises across the nation discussed the formation of a supra-plant trade-union structure in metallurgical industry. Thirty-five of the delegates brought along formal notices of intent to join the Federation from their executive boards. Earlier such notices had already been deposited by 51 metallurgical trade-union organizations.

Following many hours of debate, a resolution to initiate efforts to establish a federation of metallurgical trade unions was adopted. The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of Employees of the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant in Krakow is one of the 13 members of the federation's founding committee, Edward Ksiazkiewicz, chairman of the Board of the NSZZ of Employees of the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant, was elected the committee's presidium chairman.

1386

CSO: 2600/854

COMMENTATOR SEES 'DUAL MORALITY' IN CALLS FOR AMNESTY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14-15 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "Moral Values of Public Life"]

[Text] Public life in Poland moves in various orbits. These are formed in different manners, depending on the criteria adopted for assessing facts, phenomena, and occurring trends. A consumer in line views an improvement in supply differently from a person linking all of his political hopes to the West's economic sanctions against our country. There are divisions even over this obvious matter. It is thus difficult to have common criteria for assessments, and to have a perception and joint creation of the same orbit for our life together.

Such searches, however, are continuing at many levels: economic, political, social, and also moral. Without taking anything away from those first three levels, one must nevertheless state that to a greater or lesser extent they reflect the contradictions occurring, the disagreements and divisions to which our society has been subjected. On the other hand, the moral level, the level of ethical assessments of our public life, has a fundamental value; it operates through criteria that are general or almost general, definite, and finally, having not only a Polish dimension, but also a universal one, covering all of humanity. Such an ethical assessment of certain phenomena also gains in relevance with the upcoming visit to Poland by Pope John Paul II, not to mention the moral authority of the Catholic Church in our society.

Making moral assessments of our reality requires criticism. There are very many occasions for it, as many as there are things wrong in our life. The disputes over the reasons for these wrongs may be far-reaching, but there are no essential divisions with respect to their symptoms and consequences. Let us, for example, recall how in his first statement, proclaiming martial law, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski called these decisions a "lesser evil," justified by the alternative of the greater evil faced by the authorities in those memorable days.

The definition of a "lesser evil" in turn implied an assessment of such acts associated with it as internments, arrests, and sentences for political crimes associated with failure to abide by the regulations of martial law, as well as the use of force.

No one ever seriously presented these inevitable consequences of martial law as a moral model. The concept of a necessary evil was very much present. The authorities kept reporting with satisfaction about every retreat from the exceptional rigors of a dramatic period in our life and about the gradual return to normalization, which may be conceived of differently on the political level, but which has one name on the moral level--a return to normal civil freedoms, to normal principles for our mutual social relationships, normal for our system and in accordance with the spirit of restoration of the conditions of respecting and strengthening the dignity of a person as an individual and as a member of a state, national, and international community.

In accordance with these criteria, demands have been put forward for accelerating the process of normalization. There are many of them. Let us intentionally pass over those which have exclusively political aspects, and concentrate on the moral level of the problem. Probably the most prominent issue then is the issue of amnesty for persons who have violated martial law regulations. We are hearing many demands on this matter. The problem was also raised many times at the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Congress, and Primate Jozef Glemp and the Episcopal Conference have on several occasions addressed demands of this type to the state authorities. If one may believe leaks from fairly reliable sources, Pope John Paul II has also done so.

These are morally justified demands. All those thinking and feeling normally want the people responsible for prohibited acts, but ones without elements of criminal violation, to be able to return to a normal life as quickly as possible. I have not heard in any official statement anything that would contradict such an attitude; at the same time, for example, in Gen W. Jaruzelski's speech at the PRON Congress, I heard words confirming it, together with a cautious but evident allusion to the subject of the possibility of making such decisions upon the suspension of martial law.

Thus, from the moral point of view the subject appears to be unambiguous, with one essential stipulation, however. Every morality has the value of serving the good, if it adheres to two basic criteria: rectitude and the laws of logic. If on one hand we wanted to participate in thefts or other transgressions, or to help create conditions favoring them, and if on the other hand we condemned crime (we know of such cases), we could be properly accused of hypocrisy, of Phariseeism. If on one hand someone called upon us, and rightfully so, to institute an amnesty, but on the other hand morally absolved or even inspired (we know of such cases) acts conflicting with the law, which put off in time the possibility of an exemption from punishment, he would become, voluntarily or not, a representative of the dual morality that becomes a negation of morality.

This is especially true because the appeals directed to the state authorities --appeals which we hope will encounter the broadest possible echo--imply logically that the state creates the law and is obliged to abide by it. Demanding that the state apply the law in accordance with this, it is not possible to accept its being broken without falling into a moral and logical conflict. Far from it. Isn't it possible to perceive a direct link between acts of reconciliation, unification, and dialogue, and a realistic possibility of an amnesty that

would not be instituted before an extension of the ranks of recidivism? Isn't the person who is speaking against an understanding, and who is opposing it "in thought, word, and deed" morally jointly responsible for the prolongation of a period in which amnesty is a question of intentions and not facts? Finally, isn't it the task of moralists to elucidate and disseminate this moral truth?

There is another issue in the area of moral assessments of public life. In this case, it has to do with the priority of values.

The 20th anniversary recently passed of Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terra," which established such a priority, primarily with respect to the values of collective life. The first and principal value on this level is, as this document teaches, peace on earth, and consequently man's first right is the right to live in peace; this is a sort of logical continuation of the commandment that is the foundation for Christian morality: "Love thy neighbor..."

The moral imperatives contained in this encyclical and in the resolutions of the Second Vatican Council with respect to the issue of peace, have not lost, but unfortunately, gained in relevance--unfortunately, because the international situation has deteriorated in recent years. The Church's representatives are also expressing this, if we recall, for example, the equally calm and uncompromising moral position of the U.S. bishops on the question of nuclear weapons.

The problem of the struggle for peace is particularly important to us in Poland, especially since, in spite of experience and the lessons of history, part of our society is cherishing an unjustified certainty that we are not threatened by war. There is also another attitude: those who count on a third world war because they cannot stand our order and think that by that route they could overthrow it.

Is it only politicians or ideologues who have to explain to some people that it is necessary to struggle for peace, and to others that their hopes are an expression of blindness and of a hatred that is atomic in its menace?

Isn't this the obligation of moralists? Isn't war the greatest degradation of man and the greatest evil? Thus, isn't the struggle for peace, both for our country, which has been living in peace for almost 40 years in its present borders thanks to its present allies--twice as long as the entire period of the existence of Poland between the wars--isn't it not only a political imperative, but also, above all, a moral one?

A spreading of this awareness is also tremendously necessary to us in Poland. All events observed by the entire world--both small daily ones and major ones--should serve this purpose.

9909

CSO: 2600/877

TRYBUNA LUDU ANNOUNCES NOWE DROGI CONTENTS

April Issue Contents

AU241123 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 83 p 4

[Review signed "J.R.": "Issue Four of NOWE DROGI--Meeting the Needs of the Day"]

[Text] A large number of the 20 important items carried by the April issue of NOWE DROGI shows that it is possible for a theoretical organ to discuss highly topical subjects that constitute an answer to the needs of the present time. Readers will be grateful for the fact that some of the problems agitating them have been discussed in depth and in a way that helps to sort out one's approach to the facts.

Referring to the April anniversary of the Polish-Soviet treaty, in his article "The Enduring Values of Alliance, Friendship and Cooperation," Zbigniew Madej ponders, among other things, the importance for Poland of cooperation with the USSR. He illustrates this importance with much data on the economy and stresses that "it is precisely as a socialist state and as an ally and friend of the Soviet Union that our country has achieved the status of an important participant in international affairs. Poland has ceased to be and will never be a pawn of the fickle game played by the Western powers."

The author describes the attacks made against the Polish-Soviet alliance by the forces hostile to socialism and asserts that propagating anti-Soviet slogans and moods has become one of the basic lines of the propaganda promoted most recently by the opponents of the party and the people's power apparatus.

In connection with the upcoming papal visit, two articles discuss the current issues of the attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church and other faiths and believers.

In his article "The Principles of the Religious Policy of the Polish People's Republic," Adam Lopatka thus describes the three main aims of this policy: "To ensure that the principles of the constitution concerning religion, churches and religious associations are observed; that the facts

of the antisocialist and antistate commitment by priests and lay citizens are eliminated if this commitment is related to religion; and that a state of normality is achieved in relations between the state and all churches and religious associations."

The freedom to profess one's religion and convictions is now being generally respected by the authorities in Poland, the author states, citing the numbers of priests and churches. Aside from the positive activities of a large majority of the clergy, the article cites examples of how some Roman Catholic priests and even bishops continue to exploit their posts, churches and various religious services in order to combat and slander the socialist system and state and to undermine and discredit Poland's international alliances. Saying that this has now met with the disapproval of the leading personalities and bodies of the Roman Catholic Church, A. Lopatka expresses the hope that they will be able to effectively and completely dissociate the church from the attempts of the opponents of People's Poland to use it.

In his article "The Party and Religion," Stanislaw Markiewicz especially stresses the need for an alliance between the communists and noncommunist people. "The Leninist thesis about the superiority of the interests of the working masses over the contradictions in the area of the views about the world is now being applied in the policy of our party," he says, subjecting the party's attitude toward believers to a comprehensive analysis and stressing that the party's policy regards "efforts to strengthen the quality of the class and social interests in developing the socialist system, and not the struggle for the views about the world, as of priority and decisive significance."

In his article "Higher Schools--Platforms of Struggle and Constructive Tasks," Benon Miskiewicz presents an interesting picture of the political climate in higher schools. He says that the basic teaching and research tasks are now being implemented and that the discipline of students is high, and points out the still present contradictions in the views on various issues, including the issue of self-government in higher schools. He discusses the main lines of improving the work done by higher schools on the principle of the unity of their three basic functions: instruction, upbringing and scientific research.

The title of Mieczyslaw Michalik's article "Socialist Social Justice and Ways To Implement It" shows that a subject that is being discussed country-wide has been tackled. The author draws attention to the important theoretical status of the problems of social justice and stresses the need to promote research on them. Public consciousness views justice as an ideal, a value, and a principle. Social justice can be acknowledged as the basic objective law of the socialist system and as an expression of its nature. M. Michalik develops the thesis that the practical implementation of the principles of justice is of basic significance and illustrates the complicated character of social ideas of the subject.



The NOWE DROGI editorial board took a different approach to the struggle against red tape, indifference and corruption: The April issue of NOWE DROGI carries an extensive collection of V. Lenin's statements on the subject.

The issue carries many articles discussing various problems. For example, Wlodzimierz Lebie dzinski critically assesses the extent to which Marxism-Leninism has been propagated in the past few years, questions the way in which this problem was tackled by the Gdansk materials submitted to the Ninth PZPR Congress, cites examples that, in his view, illustrate attempts "to deprive Marxism of its Marxist character," and postulates that the theory of scientific socialism should be included in the curricula of higher schools. Jan Wawrzyniak replies to the polemics about his earlier article on the party's leading role and on socialist democracy.

The April issue also carried Marian Podkowinski's article in connection with Hitler's seizure of power 50 years ago, Jerzy Kochanski's article on the 40th anniversary of the ghetto uprising, Jerzy Putrament's feuilleton, and other items.

#### Contents of May Issue

AU031020 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 May 83 p 2

[Text] The May issue of NOWE DROGI has appeared. It opens with an editorial entitled "To Be a Party of Battle Against Evil."

In addition, to mark the 175th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the monthly contains four sketches on the creator of scientific socialism.

The following articles deal with party problems: "The Gathering of Social Forces. From the Experiences Gained by the Gdansk Party Organization," by Stanislaw Bejger; "The Platforms of Unity Inside the Party," by Mieczyslaw Szyszyka; "Problems in Building Party Strength," by Mirosław Karwat and Wlodzimierz Milanowski; "We Have Passed Through an Ordeal by Fire," by Wojciech Czerwiec (from the Higher School of Engineering in Radom); and "Testing the Foundations," by Janusz Fastyn.

CSO: 2600/947

ROMANIA

REPORT ON PERES VISIT TO RABBI ROSEN

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Apr 83 p 5

[Article: "The Visit of Shimon Peres"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of his visit to Romania, Shimon Peres visited His Eminence Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen on 25 March 1983. His Eminence gave a brief report on the situation of the Jewish communities in Romania in 1983, answering the questions of the distinguished guest in regard to our religious institutions and our Jewish culture and social assistance institutions.

Shimon Peres expressed satisfaction with the way in which the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Socialist Republic of Romania is organized and directed and with the organization and management of the institutions under its jurisdiction, warmly congratulating His Eminence and the leadership of the Federation for their successful work in this area.

His Eminence, in his Sabbath sermon, said: "This is a great Sabbath for us. Although there are fewer of us welcoming you than at the time of your first visit [in 1977], we have been able not only to maintain but also to develop our work in the service of Judaism. We are devoted and loyal citizens of Romania and, at the same time, worthy Jews, linked to the Torah and traditions, with love of Sion and Jerusalem."

In his talk, Shimon Peres expressed his joy at being, once again, among the members of the Jewish community in Romania and brought greetings from the 385,000 Romanian Jews who have made the Alia [emigrated to Israel] as well as from all the people of Israel. He expressed his thanks to Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen for knowing, over the decades, how to watch over the Jewish soul in the communities which he shepherds.

Then the chairman of the "Avoda" party in Israel referred to what he had said to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, during his talk with him that same day.

"We are grateful to President Ceausescu in three ways: as Jews, as Israelis and as socialists.

As Jews, how can we help but be grateful, seeing the religious, cultural and national life which you are living, in conditions of full legality? How can we help but express our thanks for the fact that freedom to Alia [emigrate] to Israel is being granted so that 385,000 Romanian Jews--an admirable element, I might say, the best--are rebuilding the Holy Land?

As Israelis, desirous of and thirsty for peace, we are grateful to President Ceausescu for the decisive role which he had in the peace agreement with Egypt and for his unceasing efforts to eliminate obstacles to a general peace in the Middle East. One of the points in regard to which I agree with Begin is that we both appreciate, most highly, what the president of Romania is doing to bring peace to Israel and her neighbors.

As socialists, we are grateful to the one who is working tirelessly for the establishment of socialism in Romania and we express our respect and admiration to him."

CSO: 2700/230

# MINISTER HAILS CEAUSESCU DEFENSE POLICY

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 83 pp 38-42

[Article by Col Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee: "The Founder of the Scientific Doctrine of the Homeland's Defense"]

[Text] On the birthday of their most brilliant son, the Romanian people are reviewing, with legitimate pride, deep respect and boundless affection, the exceptional merits of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the wise and experienced guide of the homeland's revolutionary destinies, an eminent militant for understanding and collaboration between nations, for security and peace throughout the world.

The bold, innovative, farsighted thought and enthusiastic practical action of the leader of our party and state, which have wrought radical changes in the entire life of the country, have also redimensioned structurally the activity devoted to its armed defense.

Harmoniously fitting the optimization of the state's military function into all of the essential changes characteristic of Romania's development in the period inaugurated by the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has substantiated concepts, theses and solutions that form an original, extremely valuable contribution to the development of Romanian and general military thought and practice.

It is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's historical merit of having grasped that the quantitative and qualitative level attained by the production forces and relations, the nature and organization of the political power, the improvements made in the management of society and in the system of our socialist democracy, and the high degree of ideological training and professional, scientific and cultural instruction of the population require a new approach to the problems of national defense, the transformation of the Romanian state's military function into one with general, public dimensions, the direct involvement of the whole populace in the armed protection of its socialist gains, of the country's freedom, independence and sovereignty. Against this complex background, the secretary general of the party, the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the supreme commander of our armed forces, has devised the new national military doctrine, which gives expression to the basic conception that guides the military policy of the party and state, establishes the main purpose, objectives, methods, forces, means and measures for achievement of the homeland's defense.

Responding to the requirements of the contemporary development of our socialist society, the new Romanian military doctrine unites innovation with tradition, recognizes its organic descent from the centuries-old thought and practice of our people, with the connection with history proper being a basic condition for its legitimacy and capacity for self-development. The military doctrine in force utilizes on a high level all the conclusions that are drawn from the age-old struggles waged by the Romanian people and their army to preserve the national being, for freedom, independence and unity, the revolutionary traits imparted to the military activity by the modern revolutions in 1821 and 1848, the concepts regarding the armed power of the country crystallized by our socialist movement, by the Romanian Communist Party in the years of underground activity, whose military thought was fully confirmed by the national insurrection in August 1944, by Romania's participation in the antifascist war. It fulfills the aspirations of the advanced forces, of the patriots in the past who supported the possibility and necessity of a proper military conception of defense, based on the specific qualities and the characteristics of our country.

But the current conception of national defense does not mean a mere transfer of heritage from our ancestors. It has its substance in our society's socialist development and character, in the monolithic unity of all the citizens, regardless of nationality, around and under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party.

At the same time, our military doctrine is determined by the state's orientations in the international arena, which crown the Romanian people's traditional efforts to live in peace with everybody, especially with their neighbors, is in complete agreement with the country's foreign policy, with the principles constantly promoted by it: respect for equality in rights between states and nations, be they big or small, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, fruitful cooperation, the exclusion of war from the life of society, the solving of disputes by political means, through negotiations, and, in the final analysis, the safeguarding of peace--a vital requirement for all mankind.

The principles, theses, solutions and measures that constitute the content of our military doctrine are contained in the country's constitution, in the Program of the Romanian Communist Party, in the work of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in party decisions, in the Law on National Defense, in other laws and regulatory acts, all bearing the imprint of the manner of approach and solution characteristic of the leader of the party and state.

Grafting the conception of national defense onto the domestic and foreign realities, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has thus formulated its basic purpose: "Socialist Romania does not pursue and will never pursue aggressive goals against any state.... Under any circumstances, at all times, our homeland, the Romanian people, will fight only for the defense of their independence and sovereignty, against any attempts at domination and oppression, to assure our nation the right to freely forge its socialist and communist society."

The basic purpose set for the armed power also determines the method of the military response that will be given, in case of need, to any foreign aggression. Defining the nature and character of this response, the secretary general of the party states: "A possible war in the future can only be a defensive war, a popular war, in which the entire populace will participate, in close unity, under the leadership of our Communist Party--the guiding force of the nation and thus of the fight to defend independence and the revolutionary gains."

This essential thesis judges clearly, by virtue of logical consistency, that the national territory constitutes the area for waging the popular defensive war, since the participation of the whole populace in the repelling of invading forces can be accomplished only where it lives and works. "We do not intend to go beyond the borders," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, but we intend "to ensure that the Romanian land will not be the victim of any imperialist aggression, of the policy of force."

The organizational framework of the military effort, in peacetime and in case of war, is in keeping with the concepts stated above. Thus, precisely as an expression of the new military doctrine, there has been set up a system of national defense, composed, on the one hand, of the army and the military units of the Ministry of the Interior, which, together, form the armed forces, representing elements with regular military activity, and, on the other hand, of irregular popular mass formations, organized on the basis of the voluntariate and the workplace--the patriotic guards, the civil defense, the detachments for the training of young people for the homeland's defense.

The military doctrine devised by our supreme commander establishes that, within the Romanian system of defense, the army has the pivotal role, due to its possession of the entire range of weapons and technical means at the country's disposal, the thorough combat training, the high qualification and specialization of the leadership personnel, the specific order and discipline, and the mobility that make it capable of being moved rapidly, over long distances, under any conditions of place, time and environment on the national space. At the same time, the army's presence in an assemblage of fighting forces has created for it new roles and duties, mainly the task of giving skilled, specialized assistance in the training of the popular formations--which are achieving the mass, general dimension of the national defense--in various forms: the detachment of officers to the commands and headquarters of these formations, the conception and design of the armament and technical means meant specially for them, consultations on specialized matters, plans and programs, the giving or lending of teaching or training materials and so on.

The basic conception of the defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania determines the outlines and directions of the assimilation and improvement of the way in which the army and the other components of the system of national defense would act on the battlefield. In this regard, the supreme commander has asked that greater attention be devoted to the joint training of the army and the forces of a popular nature, that a closer connection be achieved on this plane between the military commands and the local party and state bodies, that the advantages of the participation of the whole populace in the homeland's defense be utilized to the utmost, so that "all the localities--the cities, communes and villages--the enterprises and the other economic and social units may be true fortresses of work, combat and defense."

Giving direction to another important factor of the capacity to defend the country, our new doctrine has formulated and applied a set of solutions concerning the technical-material base of the army, of the system of national defense. In this field too, the leader of the party and state has wrought a profound change, on the basis of which there is gradually being attained the objective that the armament and other technical means of combat, including the highly complex ones, be conceived, designed and produced to an overwhelming degree by our industry, that the technical and tactical performances, the proportions and the kinds of armament and ammunition respond

to the country's conditions, to the necessities of the forces in our system of national defense.

The wise guidance given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for raising the country's defensive power includes in a principal place the achievement of its political and moral support, the revolutionary, educational and patriotic tempering of the fighters, a component part of the immense activity performed by the Romanian Communist Party to form the new man, a diligent builder of socialism and a fearless defender of the nation's freedom and independence. In keeping with this, the organizational framework for the party political work in the Romanian army has been improved, the role of the party bodies and organizations in all fields of military life has been expanded, a decisive stimulus has been given to the army's integration into the general life of society, through the wide participation of the military in the national economy, in the construction of big industrial facilities, in the development of the energy base, in the agricultural campaigns, and in the political, ideological, scientific and cultural activities throughout the country.

The principle and practice of the exclusive exercise of the leadership of the national defense by the Romanian Communist Party constitute the corollary to the doctrinary edifice substantiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. "The command of the armed forces," the secretary general of the party stated, "cannot be exercised by any outside body; it constitutes a sovereign attribute of the leadership of our party and state."

All the essential decisions involving the armed forces, the other components of the armed power, and the material and technical necessities for preparing the economy and setting up the territory for defense belong to the Central Committee and other high tribunals of the party, and in conformity with them, the corresponding legislative and state measures are adopted.

The Defense Council, a party and state body empowered to solve the major problems of the capacity to defend the country, to formulate the highest decisions of Romanian military strategy, and to comprise the leadership of the national armed power, has been set up on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative. In a unitary vision, local defense councils--county, municipal, city and communal--charged with coordinating the popular defensive formations, have been created on a local level. The possession of the high responsibility of chairman of the Defense Council and supreme commander of Romania's armed power by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is a full expression of the leadership of the national defense by the Romanian Communist Party, the sure guarantee of steady implementation of the military policy of our party and state.

The attribute of the leadership of the national defense by the party is also exercised completely with regard to the military relations of the Socialist Republic of Romania with other states. On the basis of the principles that are the basis of our foreign policy, Romania is promoting cooperation on a military plane with the countries participating in the Warsaw Pact, with all the socialist countries, and is developing its ties in this field with other states, regardless of their social and political order, as an additional way to reduce the tensions and suspicions, to improve the international climate.

The systematic supervision and leadership provided by the party over the army and all the elements that concur in the exercise of the state's military function have

their inexhaustible source of efficiency in the concern and care continually devoted by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to this aspect fundamental to the homeland's existence and progress, in his direct participation in the main activities of the army and the other forces of the system of national defense, in his presence on the spot when the basic aspects of the strategic and tactical training, of the political and ideological education, of the organizational structures and of the technical-material equipment of the armed power are tackled, and in the commands, orders, instructions and recommendations given to the military personnel and the party and state activists, sources of invaluable lessons, inspiring examples of self-sacrifice for the cause of national independence and sovereignty.

Through the keen and wide vision of the leader of the party and state, the Socialist Republic of Romania now possesses a proper, original military doctrine, of maximum clarity and efficiency, which constitutes a stable foundation for the convergence of the efforts that are being made, by the whole populace, to provide the proper capacity to defend the homeland. The fulfillment of its requirements finds a peerless model in the tireless, steady, realistic thought and activity of the one who, by the unanimous will, holds the highest offices in the party and in the state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

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## CURRENT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jan 83 pp 28-32

[Article by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions: "A New, Bold Vision of the Role and Prerogatives of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] With all their being, the over 7.5 million members of the trade unions are joining in the fervent homage that the communists, the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, our whole populace, are paying to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, the chairman of the republic, on the occasion of his birthday. The fact that, immediately after the national party conference, on the basis of the tasks resulting from the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the trade unions intensified their activity devoted to attaining the economic and social objectives of the current 5-year period, thus manifesting once again, together with our whole socialist nation, their unswerving unity around the party and its secretary general, also constitutes a strong expression of their feelings of deep esteem, appreciation and devotion.

In the complex personality of a brilliant statesman of our times, a farsighted strategist of the homeland's economic and social development, a prominent militant of the international communist and working-class movement, a thinker of the first magnitude who is enriching the theory and practice of scientific socialism, and a passionate fighter for peace and good understanding between peoples, the trade unions, the largest professional organization, see, above all, the /hero figure/ [in capitals], who, since his early youth, has performed a tireless revolutionary activity.

Participating with great joy in this red-letter day dear to all the working people, to which they are devoting enthusiastic expressions of homage, the trade unions in the enterprises and institutions, their unions for the branches, the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions and their actives are bringing their offering of affection and gratitude for all that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has done, through his bold revolutionary thought and action, to create for the trade unions an original and quite favorable framework for carrying out their activity, in keeping with the new stage attained by the general evolution of our society, with the highest economic and social imperatives of the current stage.

With that acute and matchless perceptive faculty, with the immense capacity for analysis and synthesis that are characteristic of him, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has

revealed the anachronistic nature of views belonging to bygone stages. "It is no longer possible to speak of trade unions," the secretary general of the party pointed out, "as a driving belt, the party does not need such a 'belt' in order to talk with the working people...." Strongly bringing out the necessity of reconsidering the role of the trade unions, in accordance with the structural changes in the country's economic, social and political life, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has indicated accurately the defining elements of their mission in the current stage, the coordinates along which they are to project their activity, pointing out: "In our socialist order, the working people need trade unions as a wide organization of theirs, in which they unite their efforts and can have their say in an organized manner, and participate in the adoption of all measures concerning the development of Romanian society."

In the party's view, the trade unions have an extremely important role to fulfill in the system of widely democratic bodies of our order, in the state of worker democracy. In this regard too, the decisive contribution in the legislation of the rightful participation of the trade unions in the activity of the collective leadership bodies, going from the enterprise to the government, and in the exercise of the function of chairman of the working people's general assembly by the chairman of the trade union also belongs to the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

This adjustment of the role of the trade unions to the current status of the working people, called upon to think and act with the consciousness of owners, producers and beneficiaries, has opened up new prospects for the activity of the trade unions, has offered them wide scope for affirmation, especially in the basic field of their social activity, the production field.

The continual improvement of our socialist society's organization and management, of self-management and self-administration, and the development of worker democracy imply greater responsibilities on the part of the trade unions in the organization and running of the working people's general assemblies and of the socialist competition, the strengthening of order and discipline, and the introduction of a strong revolutionary spirit in all sectors of activity.

Continually guided by the party bodies and organizations, having the profound conviction that nothing of what is necessary to us will come to us without work or from outside, the trade-union bodies and organizations are constantly concerned with finding the specific methods by which they may continually increase their contribution to carrying out the programs for economic and social development of the country. Through all the actions of support, guidance and supervision, which have grown in frequency and qualitative substance in recent years, and through the series of exchanges of experience, conferences, analyses and other events initiated, especially in the economic field and that of educational and organizational work, we have tried to make fully understood and assimilated by the trade unions and each working person the idea, stressed with so much justification by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which, /under the current conditions, the continual raising of the quality of life depends on managing with maximum responsibility and efficiency the part of the national wealth entrusted to the respective staff for administration/  
[in boldface]. The education of the worker personnel in the spirit of this basic duty, which necessarily follows from the position of socialist owner and producer, an action that, in accordance with the decisions adopted by the national party

conference, we will expand strongly this year, has acquired concrete forms. Thus, the concern that the assemblies of the trade-union groups function as open sessions of the working people's general assembly in the enterprise and take under their own responsibility the implementation of its decisions that involve the respective workplace has grown in the majority of the country's counties. This means a structural change in outlook and attitude toward the status of the working person, who is considered an active participant in running the affairs of the unit, in accordance with the principle "We decide, we do!" For fully understanding this new way of working of the trade unions, intercounty conferences, within which a wide exchange of experience has been achieved, have been organized in three big centers of the country: Bucharest, Tirgu Mures and Bacau.

Objectively required by the integration of the trade unions into the fulfillment of the economic tasks, the action of wide proportions for organizing the socialist competition within the enterprises and on the scale of the branches of industrial and agricultural production on the basis of the criteria approved in May 1981 by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, which, materialized, have conferred greater possibilities on this patriotic mass movement, subordinating it even more to the priority economic imperatives--the development of the base of raw materials and energy, the strict economization of them and other resources, the fulfillment of the investment plan, the achievement of the physical output and net output, the improvement of the quality of the products, the development of exportation, the more marked growth of labor productivity, of economic efficiency, the making of all products and services profitable and, on this basis, the achievement of profits--also goes against the background of such concerns.

The political work done more effectively and in as expressive forms as possible, with the contribution of the means of propaganda that the trade unions possess, is strongly engaged in demonstrating the necessity that each staff and each working person fulfill in an exemplarily manner the priority objectives placed before the economic units by the party.

Along the line of such concerns there also go the actions of guidance and support performed by the actives of the unions for the branches and by the actives of the Central Council of the UGSR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] in hundreds of representative units in the sectors producing raw materials and power and in the other main branches of production, devoted to pointing out the positive forms, methods and experiences by which the trade unions stimulate the appearance of the workers' initiatives and the generalization of them and those by which they carry out constant propaganda in support of the fulfillment of the pledges made in the socialist competition, with the conferences organized for this purpose concluding with concrete measures involving the adoption of practices that have demonstrated their validity.

The problems in the basic field of the activity of the trade unions, broad and highly complex, put in a prominent place the trade unions' duty to support the action of vocational recruitment, qualification and improvement of new contingents of workers for the labor-short branches--mining, ferrous metallurgy, construction and so on--a direction in which a number of steps have been taken, with good results, but in which it is necessary to persevere systematically.

Through their entire activity, the trade unions, benefiting from the competent leadership of the party bodies and organizations, are militating for the working people

to manifest a high concern and spirit of responsibility, advanced economic thought and a profound regard for the terms and conditions for fulfilling the production tasks with as low material and energy consumptions as possible, to participate in the effort to devise and apply as efficient labor-organization solutions as possible, technologies that would ensure complete utilization of the resources of the enterprises, for a new quality of work in all sectors.

Specific methods of exercising the role that goes to the trade unions in the current stage have also appeared in the social field. Starting from the consideration that the party itself has devised, on the basis of its profoundly humanistic policy, a whole body of legislation, a number of programs of steps involving the placement of man in working and housing conditions and in conditions of medical and social assistance as favorable as possible for obtaining good results in production, steps to which are added those taken by the bodies of worker self-management, the trade unions are militating, along with the other factors involved, for the correct application of what has been established and legislated and to increase the enterprises' possibilities of financing the actions for improving the working and living conditions.

Making the corrections necessary also in another wide-ranging field of the activity of the trade unions, namely that of the political work for forming the new man, in the spirit of the dialectical-materialistic outlook, we are helping the trade-union organizations to understand that the concrete man, who understands fully his new prerogatives, must constitute the target and end of their educational act, under the conditions of the current requirement of strongly developing everyone's responsibility of fulfilling his capacity of a direct owner of part of the material wealth. Starting from the thesis devised by the secretary general of the party, according to which each economic unit must constitute a complex for production and for education, the trade unions have understood the necessity of fulfilling their prerogatives in this field especially in the enterprises, right in the process of material creation and in a close connection with the realities at the workplace. However, this necessarily presupposes the focusing of the educational act on those trade-union members who have not yet adopted the attitudes and behavior required by their new status of active participants in self-management.

We are firmly determined to act further, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, has told us, to strengthen the enterprise trade union's role, the activity of the trade-union groups, to bring the management of the trade unions closer to the basic units, especially those in the extractive industry, in such a way that, together with the working people, with the thousands of trade-union activists, we may fulfill in an exemplary manner the economic and production tasks at each workplace.

Performing their activity under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, the trade unions are systematically concerned with improving the style and methods, with adopting a revolutionary style of work, in keeping with the profoundly revolutionary character of the party's policy, a policy based on a bold, realistic and innovative vision. The thesis of great theoretical and practical value regarding the political leadership of the mass and public organizations from within, through the communists in their leadership, and the express instruction of the secretary general of the party that the party bodies not take the place of the trade unions but help them to fulfill their role and prerogatives have contributed greatly to placing the activity

of the trade unions on a separate, distinct path, causing them to act independently and with full responsibility in solving the problems that form their specific object of concerns. In this context, much progress has been achieved in configuring the methods of action within the bodies of worker self-management, in covering all the fields, by sensibly distributing the forces of the actives, by centering the work on solving the major problems, in improving the activity of guiding and of exercising control over the implementation of the decisions and in strengthening the organization life, with an accent on the development of trade-union democracy. There have remained some problems that refer to the full purpose of the actions undertaken, a purpose diminished, here and there, by superficiality and formalism, since some trade-union activists are still adherents of routine methods, of the thing in itself, not pursuing, as is necessary, high efficiency in all that they do.

Concentrating their efforts in the direction of eliminating such deficiencies and seeking as suitable methods as possible for fulfilling the extremely significant responsibilities with which they are invested, the trade unions will make even further a notable contribution to attaining the economic and social objectives of the current stage of development of the country.

The leadership of the trade unions by the party and the continual care and concern of the secretary general of the party for their full affirmation in the social life of the country represent the guarantee of fulfillment of the important role and prerogatives that go to them.

I do a duty of conscience--along with our fervent gratitude for all that he has done and is doing for the benefit and advancement of the homeland--to once again assure Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu of our devotion and unswerving determination to act consistently and steadily to honor our responsibilities and to rise to the level of the trust shown by the party.

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ROLE OF EDUCATION IN STRENGTHENING SOCIALIST LEGALITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 8, 25 Apr 83 pp 10-12

[Article by Prof Dr Ion Dragan, Bucharest Center for Sociological Studies]

[Text] Development of the productive forces and the revolutionary changes in the social structure and in social relations brought about major changes in the socialization process and in the intellectuality and morality of Romanian society. Those changes are reflected, among other things, by development of the citizens' civic awareness and sense of responsibility and respect for the laws of the land and the standards of social coexistence. Of course they took place gradually against the background of consistent promotion of the values of socialist humanism, improvement of social relations and workers democracy, provision for the widest exercise of the democratic rights and freedoms, and measures to secure a climate of order, discipline and legality in all social activities.

But the process of building socialist civilization shows that there are still a number of defects and that backward customs and habits (although clearly on a more limited social scale) with bad effects upon some persons' behavior, as well as some violations of the legal standards and rules of socialist coexistence, still persist alongside the qualitative changes in social relations, in civic awareness and conduct, and in social activity. It would be unrealistic to believe that under socialism the new economic-political structures automatically and immediately transform social-human relations and people's attitudes and conduct, or that respect for laws automatically follows. Qualitative change, on a mass scale, of social-human relations and people's awareness as well as generalization of the socialist model of the human personality and social coexistence are lengthy and comprehensive social processes and more difficult than one might believe. "Departure" from the kind of social conduct that Romanian socialist society requires is a social phenomenon that still confronts, sometimes extensively, various sectors of socioeconomic activity and requires intensive political-educational efforts to prevent harmful manifestations.

For example the judicial statistics and sociological studies of antisocial acts show that crime is decreasing on the whole, but it still reaches significant proportions in the case of certain dangerous acts, that the number of delinquent minors and youths is not negligible, that deviant persons are still committing serious offenses, and that firm or drastic measures are not always taken against the culprits. Some offenses, like economic ones for example, are not only for

the offender's personal reasons but are also due to defective organization of some units' activities and superficial, cursory management of public property. A number of harmful incidents, thefts, embezzlements etc. doing great damage to public property are caused by lack of a sense of responsibility for public property and of any strict control over the management of each economic unit's property, since some persons think they can satisfy their material needs at society's expense without working. Therefore it is the duty of the organs of collective management and administration to take firm action against any violation of the laws and of the entire people's property in order to strengthen social order and discipline and the sense of responsibility for the entrusted property.

As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, "We must not forget that a number of customs originating in the old social order still appear and influence some people, or that unfortunately there still are citizens who disregard the laws and the standards of social coexistence. As the Romanian people say, there is no forest without dead wood. It is our duty to see that the dead wood does not sicken the forest, to defend the standards of social coexistence, to develop the principles of social justice and equity, and to ensure the Romanian people's healthy moral and intellectual development.

The analysis in some studies the Bucharest Center for Sociological Studies made on such problems and the factors causing antisocial phenomena and socially harmful conduct indicates the necessity of a complete unity between political-educational work and the disciplinary measures to sanction those who commit offenses and violations and who violate the laws and the standards of social coexistence.

The studies show that instances of delinquency, as a particular form of social deviation, are typical of the maladjustment and lack of integration of some individuals or limited social groups because of defects and distortions in the process of education and training as well as some dysfunctions in the socializing and educational role of such institutions as the family, schools, public organizations, local communities, mass media and state organs. The results of some specialized studies reveal the particular importance of these social and educational factors, which play a critical part in the "socialization" of all members of society, that is in the assimilation and observance out of conviction of the social values, standards, habits, laws and rules as well as the regulatory model prescribed and recognized by society, in prevention of violations of the rules of social coexistence, and in strengthening legality.

Of course we must not overlook a number of more general social and cultural changes that can further certain individual and group tendencies toward deviant social behavior and can make prevention and control of socially dangerous phenomena more difficult. Those changes, with direct effects upon the proportions of anti-social acts, include the growth of the big urban centers (where the action of the traditional factors for social control is diffused, impersonal and less effective); the great population shifts and the formation of heterogeneous social communities with little social structuring or cohesion; impairment of the authority and social control functions of the family and the rural commitment; formation of small, socially distorted street groups permitting multiplication of predelinquent and delinquent acts on the part of minors and youths; widening of the gaps between aspirations (due to social causes and deficient education) and the legal

ways in which a number of individuals can achieve those aspirations (resulting in feelings of frustration and violent, deviant and criminal tendencies); incomplete coordination of the action of the schools and mass media with that of some social-cultural bodies; difficulties of some persons, especially youths, in adjusting to the change from the rural-community way of life to the urban environment, etc. For example, a study of recidivist behavior showed that most of the youths who repeated antisocial acts (58.4 percent in one county) had recently settled in urban centers and had been equally recently integrated in urban-industrial work.

Of course these phenomena occur in different forms and proportions in different places. Therefore it is vital to study the social factors for delinquency and accordingly determine a comprehensive long-term strategy. These problems must be thoroughly studied with a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach and with the help of jurists, sociologists, psychologists and pedagogues in order to substantiate and accordingly integrate the most appropriate ways of differentiating the social control functions of the family, schools, social bodies, workers collectives etc. It is encouraging that such comprehensive analyses have begun to be made more systematically of late, being initiated by state organs, research institutes and scientific authorities.

Development of socialist society is inseparable from the success of a new kind of social integration based upon the ideals, principles and values of revolutionary socialist humanism, upon the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, and upon the standards of Romanian socialist morality.

As the framework of collective existence, the social standards establish a system of values and standards that does not enter into the awareness and conduct of every member of society automatically, but only through intensive political-ideological and educational work. Experience tells us that assimilation and observance of all the standards and values protected by society, as well as the process of assimilation and observance of the standards of conduct, inevitably encounter certain educational and subjective difficulties, so that the educational effectiveness of the main tools of socialization (the family, social group, schools, workers collectives etc.) should be analyzed because they contribute to a great extent to the success or failure of the effort to promote the standards of social coexistence, to strengthen legality, and to enforce order and discipline in society.

Instances of deviation or the more serious ones of delinquency are to be regarded not only as individual acts of persons with lawless inclinations but also as failures of the socializing action of the educational elements due to lack of persevering effort to individualize collective work and of understanding consideration for the aspirations, preoccupations, concerns and demands expressed by some youths.

And so the studies made by sociologists collectives indicate that antisocial behavior (such, for example, as refusal to integrate in a community or to perform some tasks and minor violations of labor discipline or more serious offenses like thefts, instances of hooliganism, etc.) is often due to nonfulfillment of demands for self-expression and self-assertion, to accumulated dissatisfactions with the collectives wherein the youths work, to the lack of any regular guidance from the family, schools, public and youth organizations, etc.



The studies indicate show that some youths who are hired in production after graduation from forms of general or high school education are more difficult to integrate in the life of the workers collectives and evade social control, while the foremen or unit heads are more concerned with their training and qualification and less so with indoctrinating them and forming their sense of responsibility for social obligations and management of public property, or with understanding the concerns and aspirations characteristic of the young age group. It was also found that frustration of social-professional ambitions is often associated with the temptation offered by bad environments, which influence youths who lack the support and guidance at their places of work or apprenticeship that they need in order to assimilate the system of values promoted by society. The conduct of those youths gradually degenerates into delinquent behavior.

The previous studies also indicated the very harmful role of the environments and groups of "negative socialization" (especially the "street microgroups" and those of social parasitism) in maintaining deviation and delinquency in a wide variety of forms. Those are a cause of delinquency in themselves. Therefore the social control effort should give priority attention to the predelinquent microgroups, the instances of deviation on the part of minors, all the forms of predelinquency, the so-called "deviant leaders," the youths with tendencies to stray, the disrupted family environments, and social purification of the streets and areas of intensive social contact. The studies made in a number of counties by a collective from the Center for Sociological Studies showed that large proportions of these youths come from broken families (divorces, family desertion, deaths etc.) with weak parental authority (absence or limited presence of the father in family life) and conflicts between parents or between parents and children. Moreover 41 percent of the delinquent minors and youths studied belonged to street microgroups (not yet broken down) with a bad influence and had distorted scholastic and occupational records in more than 80 percent of the cases.

As we know, social integration is impossible without social control. In order to encourage the conduct expected and desired by society and to exploit it on the level of social actions, while discouraging, preventing or repressing prohibited conduct, all societies form a system of social control in the sense of a series of institutions, rules, standards, measures, actions and means of influencing or penalizing intended to secure observance of the models of socially accepted standards. In one way or another the use of these instruments ultimately adjusts civic behavior to certain social standards expressed in particular by legal and moral codes.

In any society integration and social control are especially important in periods of revolutionary reform and construction of a new socioeconomic system in particular, and in all periods of pronounced social change in general. These processes are vital to formation of a new kind of personality, to development and improvement of social relations, and to consolidation of the new society.

Formation of a new kind of personality expressing the inauguration of a new kind of social relations (a lengthy and far-reaching process involving educational, political-ideological and propaganda instruments in particular) is inseparable from radical renovation of the factors and content of integration in the new system of moral, political and other values and also from the formation and

increasingly effective action of a new system of "social control" stemming from the new social relations and a new conception of the relations between the individual and society.

Of course this process does not evolve automatically. It is subject to stagnations and distortions and it is correlated with a number of social factors that affect education or play an important part in preventing harmful acts. Accordingly, public opinion has a very important function in defending legality and enforcing order, discipline and the standards of social coexistence.

One of the characteristic features of social control is its dynamic content. Consequently the forms, instruments or means whereby it is exercised do not remain fixed or unchanged but undergo an intensive process of evolution and change in keeping with the changes that occur in the economic base of society, in the structure of the social classes, and in the social-political strategy and action of the state power.

The revolutionary changes that have taken place in Romanian society have created the framework of a qualitatively new system of exercising social control. It is characterized by direct participation of the social collectives, public opinion, the social and public organizations, and the media of mass communication and education, but also by maintenance and improvement of the legal-repressive means of social control. On Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative, an extensive constructive effort of revolutionary thinking and innovation in the institutional system and in social activity has been deployed in order to combine the economic and social-political structures of socialism with a new political-regulatory and cultural-educational system, to generalize the new social-ethical and cultural model and to create an original series of institutions and standards for the exercise of social control.

Along with improvement of the legislation and the institutional system and with the measures for structural renovation of socioeconomic relations, in the course of the general process of enhancing the democratism of Romanian society, a number of changes are being made in application of the laws and in consolidation of socialist legality, and the communities and public organizations are engaged in that activity. This stimulates the action of the nonlegal means of social control and develops a system of shared social control in close correlation with the action of the media and forms of education and with the augmented role of the factors of ethics and public opinion.

The problems of intensifying the social integration of the workers, generalizing respect for the ethical-political model of Romanian socialist society, and improving the framework for the exercise of social control through a continuing and increasingly pronounced democratization of the latter take on particular importance in the present stage. The major role of the masses in applying the laws and implementing social justice lends justice a profoundly democratic character in this respect. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, "The various violations of the laws and the standards of coexistence must be extensively discussed at the public assemblies, and those who disregard the laws and the standards of social coexistence must be directly discussed by the workers." To meet that requirement, the problems of socialization, integration and social control should be specially emphasized.

Of course a highly important part is played by consolidation of the political-educational factors (the schools, the mass communication media and political propaganda), which must further emphasize knowledge of the laws and creation of the conditions for the gradual transformation of the economic units into multifunctional bodies, in the sense of centers of moral, civic and political-legal education and indoctrination of youths as well as production centers.

Exploitation of the socializing and educational functions of the basic social environments, especially those of the family, the workers collectives, and social-political experience, gradual transfer of some tasks and functions of the state organs to the direct responsibility of the workers collectives, the social organizations and the family, involvement of educational work with sanctioning and of the legal institutions' work with the activity of the masses, and the consistent policy of raising the entire people's standards of education and culture are the main areas of improvement in the exercise of social control in the present stage.

Expressing a new conception of regulation of social control, these measures actually constitute a radical revolution in socialist justice and the means of social control. The essence of the new ways and means instituted by the party and state is the shift of the center of gravity of the process of reeducating those who have committed antisocial acts that are not very serious (especially youths) from places of detention where they were deprived of their liberty to the socialist units, thus making use of the educational, formative and integrating powers of free labor, of the public organizations, and of public opinion. In this way scientific consideration is given to the idea of resolving the deviant phenomena that occur in society in a social way. These measures can also be viewed as a logical consequence of the social-psychological nature of the harmful phenomena and behavior, so that in the long run the most efficient way (under the conditions of Romanian socialist society) of "treating" them, preventing violations, and restoring those who have committed them to society lies in their social integration and in use of the educational capacity of the workers collectives. The main purpose of the factors for social control is to prevent deviant behavior by social and educational measures to form the sense of social responsibility and, in cases of legal violations, to help to reeducate the offenders and reintegrate them in society by the new way of implementing sanctions and penalties.

This objective brings out the necessity of accentuating the psycho-social mechanisms of social control on the basis of the efforts of society and the educational elements toward assimilation of the social standards in people's basic attitudes and awareness and in the structures of their personalities. Of course the application of this principle is long and complex process not without contradictions and even some stagnations, especially since, as we know, there is an inequality in the formation and development of the various subsystems of the overall system of socialist society, since those in the areas of social relations, awareness and morality tend (not fatally or inevitably) to lag behind the transformation of the economic and political subsystems.

The humanistic view of social control, of the relationships between the individual and Romanian socialist society, and of the ways of preventing and controlling deviant behavior, however, has nothing in common with tolerance or indulgence of those who commit serious antisocial acts. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "By virtue of the rights of the workers and the nation, the severest measures must

be taken according to the legal provisions against those who commit violations and disruptions and those who violate the laws and the standards of social coexistence."

It is in the spirit of humanism and in the interest of society to combine education with strict enforcement of the law and humane understanding with exemplary firmness in the prevention and control of delinquent behavior. This calls for the combined efforts of the educational institutions, the workers collectives, public opinion, and the legal organs. Hence also the requirement for comprehensive, wide-scale investigation of all these problems and realistic evaluation of the factors and means of social control in order to lend more effective support to the scholastic institutions and the economic units in the performance of their social and educational role. A comprehensive research program can lead to a better foundation for the combined action of the educational, state-legal, public and mass factors in order to prevent delinquent behavior and to strengthen legality and observance of the social standards.

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PAPERS NOTE HONORS FOR CEAUSESCU'S CHILDREN

[Editorial Report] Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian on 9 March 83 on page 3 publishes a review of a book by "Doctor of Physics" Nicu Ceausescu entitled "Contributii la fizica si aplicatiile descarcarii luminescente" [Contributions to the Physics and Applications of Luminescent Discharges], published by Editura Academiei, Bucharest, 1982. The reviewer, Prof Dr Sevastian N. Rapeanu, "a member of the European Physics Society" hails the "remarkable original contributions of the author to the physics of luminescent discharges." He says: "I am sure that the work will be read with interest; it will give rise to many reflections and will lead to new achievements in this field of great technological importance. In this book, Dr Nicu Ceausescu succeeds in covering a full cycle--scientific research--technological engineering-production."

Bucharest SCINTEIA of 13 May 1983, pages 1 and 5 reports on a ceremony held in the Palace of the Council of State, at which RCP secretary general and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu awarded "high honors of the Socialist Republic of Romania to workers, for extraordinary achievements in production, scientific-research and cultural-artistic activity." Among the recipients were his three children: Nicu Ceausescu, "secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth," who was given the "Order of Labor, First Class"; Elena Zoia Ceausescu, "principal scientific researcher, chief of the mathematics section in the National Institute for Scientific and Technical Creation in Bucharest," who was awarded the "Order of Labor, Second Class"; and Valentin Ceausescu, "principal scientific researcher, scientific secretary of the Institute for Nuclear Engineering and Physics in Bucharest," who was given the Scientific Merit Order, Second Class.

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NEWSMEN VISIT JIU VALLEY MINES, DISCUSS PROBLEMS

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Feb 83 pp 9-14

[Article by Cristina Dumitrescu: "How Our Press and Specialized Newsmen Are Involved in the Great Economic Campaign: As Much Coal as Possible for the Country."

[Excerpts] Recently, the city of Petrosani hosted a 2-day conference of journalists from the coal-producing counties and from the central press. The conference gathered together more than 50 journalists, editors and local correspondents from the newspapers and reviews in the capital, from radio-television, from the Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, chief editors, deputy chief editors and chiefs of the economic sections of the newspapers in Alba, Arges, Bacau, Bihor, Caras-Severin, Constanta, Cluj, Dimbovita, Dolj, Gorj, Harghita, Hunedoara, Maramures, Mehedinti, Mures, Prahova, Salaj, Timis, and Vilcea. Representatives of the ministries of mines, electric power, and geology, as well as management cadres from the Jiu Valley mining combine and the mining enterprises in the area, foremen, technicians and engineers, and chiefs of mining brigades in the Petrosani mining enterprises also participated in the conference.

The following attended the session held on the first day of the conference: Viorel Faur, first secretary of the Petrosani municipality RCP committee; Ion Cumpanasu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee, director general of AGERPRES, chairman of the Council of Journalists; Romica Stanciu, deputy minister of mines; Dan Surelescu, director general of the Jiu Valley mining combine; Vasile Barac, instructor in the Section for the Press and Radiotelevision of the RCP Central Committee, member of the Council of Journalists; Aurelian Nestor, secretary of the Council of Journalists; Constantin Marinescu, chief of the production service of the Ministry of Electric Power; Viorel Vierescu, counselor in the Ministry of Geology.

Viorel Faur said that it is necessary that mining be one of the priority themes of the press. There must be a deepening of journalistic investigation, a diversification of methods of treating the issue, a correct, realistic presentation, a diversification of methods of treating the issue, a correct, realistic presentation of the successes and of the shortcomings which still exist, without avoiding a critical attitude, when this is justified on the basis of the evidence.

Dan Surulescu spoke about the problems and concerns of the workers in the Jiu Valley. The speaker said that their activity benefits from the clear, profoundly realistic guidelines and directions, which result from the frequent meetings and consultations of the party leadership and of the secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with foremen, technicians, engineers, and workers in the Jiu Valley. The recent measures for the improvement of mining activity, which are beginning to be put into practice, have been demonstrating their effectiveness already. Director general Dan Surulescu also discussed, extensively, the social aspects, aspects connected with labor safety underground and the living conditions of the workers.

Constantin Marinescu discussed the quality of the coal and a matter which is closely related to this--the operation of the thermoelectric power plant system in the country. The speaker supplied extensive data and discussed plan figures and technical parameters. It was noted that the shortfalls in the production of energy were the result, in many cases, of the unsuitable quality and quantities of the coal delivered, which produced outages, breaks in the production flow, increased expenses, etc.

The director general of the Jiu Valley mining combine, Dan Surulescu, responded to the criticism of the Representative of the Ministry of Electric Power. Admitting the correctness of many of these observations, the speaker stressed, however, the need for a closer collaboration among the ministries and the need to study the possibilities of making technological adaptations in the thermoelectric power plant system for a more economical and better utilization of energy-producing coal.

After the first part of the discussions, the journalists visited, in groups, the Lupeni, Uricani, Lonea and Petrila mining enterprises, where they had an opportunity to learn some of the current concerns in the Jiu Valley, interesting information about the labor force, some of the very good concrete results of the new program, aspects related to mechanization and the introduction of microprocessors. The documentation visit and dialogues with workers continued in the underground areas.

The second day of the conference included a meeting with Radu Balan, first secretary of the Hunedoara County RCP Committee, and a professional discussion for the journalists. Representatives of the collectives of miners and of the ministries and others were invited and participated actively in the discussions. The proceedings were chaired by Ion Cumpanasu, who stressed the duty of the press to take an active role, through competent concrete efforts, in the battle for achieving the energy independence of the country.

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

PASSOVER ACHIEVEMENTS--Some 120,000 kg of matzos, including 16,000 kg which were given free of charge, were distributed for Passover 5743. Money, matzos, and kosher food were given to 7,600 old or sick Jews. There were religious services in 112 synagogues. Collective seders, in which about 6,000 Jews participated, were held in 28 communities. Poems and songs of the Haggadah were taught in 31 Talmud Torah courses. From the eve of Passover to the last day of the feast, some 4,800 Jews ate at our kosher restaurants throughout the country. Some 45,000 meals were served. Our Passover assistance extended even to those villages or small market towns in which there is only one Jew. All the Jews who wanted to observe Passover had full opportunity to do so this year. [Text] [Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 1 Apr 83 p 3]

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